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WARREN HASTINGS.

THE
GOVERNORS-GENERAL
OF
INDIA.

FIRST SERIES

BY
HENRY MORRIS,
(MADRAS C. S. RETIRED)

Author of "A Manual of the Godavery District," &c.

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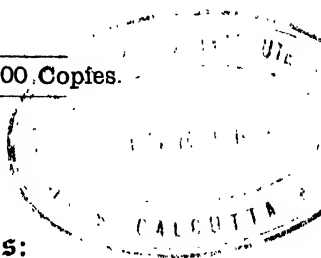
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'THE
GOVERNORS-GENERAL
OF
INDIA.

I.—WARREN HASTINGS.

A. D. 1772—1785.

BORN, 1732; DIED, 1818.

“What constitutes a state?
Not high-raised battlements, or laboured mound,
Thick wall, or moated gate;
Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned.
No!—*men*, high-minded *men*,
Men, who their duties know,
But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain.”

Sir William Jones.

ONE lovely summer's afternoon, as the sun was lighting up the sparkling rivulet that flows through an estate in the west of England, a little boy, about seven years of age, lay dreaming on its grassy bank. His ancestors had owned this beautiful estate; but, owing to ill-fortune or to poverty, it had slipped from their possession. The idea that he would recover it flashed through his childish mind. This was, however, no mere passing dream. The resolve, thus early made, clung to him all through his career, and, in the evening of his life, it became an accomplished fact. He purchased the estate, spent his last years in possession of it, and there his eyes closed in death. The estate was Daylesford in the county of Worcester, and the childish dreamer was Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of Bengal.

Warren Hastings was born at Churchill, a village in the adjoining county of Oxford, on December 6, 1732. His mother died soon after his birth, and his father deserted him during his infancy, leaving him to the care of relations. He was poorly educated in childhood; but, when twelve years of age, he was placed at the great school of Westminster, where he showed an intelligence and acuteness which speedily placed him among the most promising of its scholars. At this time he passed into the charge of a distant relative, who, being a Director of the East India Company, very naturally determined that he should go to India in the Company's Civil Service, much to the disappointment of the Head Master of Westminster School, who strenuously pleaded that he might not be deprived of one of his most brilliant students. His guardian, however, turned a deaf ear to this appeal.

Warren Hastings landed at Calcutta, the scene of his future greatness, in October, 1750, a few months before he was eighteen. The English factories in Bengal were at that time mere trading establishments, and the civilians were busily engaged in buying and selling merchandise with not a thought or idea of anything better or higher. For the first three years of his Indian career, Warren Hastings was employed in the Secretary's office at Calcutta as a clerk. He was busy in the day-time with the ordinary mercantile avocations, and he seems to have occupied his leisure hours with learning Hindustani and Persian. He led an orderly and a quiet life, keeping himself aloof from the extravagance and open profligacy which unhappily disgraced too many of his contemporaries, while, on the other hand, he does not appear to have exhibited any particular brilliancy as a student. At the end of three years, he was sent to the factory at Cossimbazar, about two miles from the capital, Moorshedabad. He soon rose to a higher position, being appointed to a seat in the Factory Council. His life there was for the first two years and more quiet and peaceful; but, in April 1756, Alivardi Khan, the powerful Nawab of Bengal, died, and the tranquillity which under him the English traders had

enjoyed past away like a morning cloud. His grandson and successor, Suraj-ud-Dowla, early showed his dissatisfaction with them, and then followed the well-known historical events which led to the tragedy of the Black Hole and the retreat of the garrison from Calcutta to an island on the Hooghly, named Fulta. Hastings was taken prisoner at Moorshedabad at the outbreak of hostilities ; but was released on bail at the request of the Superintendent of the neighbouring Dutch factory. Negotiations between the fugitives from Calcutta and the Nawab were carried on through him ; but, after a time, fearing detection in a plot which was being carried on against the Nawab, he fled to Fulta, where he joined his fellow-countrymen. During his brief sojourn there, he became attached to a lady formerly the wife of Captain Campbell, whom he married. They had two children, both of whom died young, and within three years he was deprived of her society by death.

Early in 1757, Colonel Clive arrived from Madras, Calcutta was retaken, and in June the battle of Plassey was won, by which the sovereignty of Bengal was virtually placed in English hands. Warren Hastings served at first as a volunteer in Clive's army ; but the keen eye of the great leader detected his value as a diplomatist and negotiator, and he was sent to Moorshedabad, first as assistant and afterwards as Resident, at the court of the Nawab. At that juncture this position was one of peculiar difficulty, but Mr. Hastings filled it with special fidelity and tact. His duty was to keep himself thoroughly acquainted with all that was going on at Court, to offer, when needful, his counsel to the Nawab, and to watch over the interests of the English traders.

On the departure of Clive for Europe, Mr. Henry Vansittart succeeded him as Governor of Bengal, and ere long Warren Hastings was promoted to a seat in the Council at Calcutta. During the dark time that followed, which, owing more to the corruption of most of his colleagues than to the new Governor's weakness or incapacity, has been rendered infamous in the annals of Bengal, Warren

Hastings was his right hand ; but their united efforts were insufficient to stem the torrent of speculation and misrule. The sore spot in the administration was private trade. The Nawab, who owed his throne entirely to the English, was liberal to the Company's officials even to a fault ; but his liberality was abused and his revenue defrauded. The principal act to which the Nawab very naturally took exception was the defrauding the revenue by free passes being sold to those who had no right to receive them. The goods conveyed in boats flying the Company's flag were permitted to pass up the river free of custom ; but this privilege was openly and illegally sold to enrich the English traders of Cossimbazar and Calcutta. This privilege was not intended to cover the private trade of the Company's servants, much less to benefit the subjects of the Nawab. We need not enter into a narration of the political troubles that ensued. Hastings did his best to keep his colleagues straight, and to uphold Mr. Vansittart's authority ; on one occasion so strenuously that a fellow-councillor struck him, for which indignity the offender had to offer an ample apology. Finding all his efforts fruitless, Mr. Hastings contemplated resigning the service ; but, as war had followed, he thought it his duty to remain. As soon as peace was restored, however, he returned to England, where he arrived late in 1765, after a continuous service of fifteen years.

Mr. Hastings spent four years in England. He had been exceedingly generous and kind to his relations, though he was at this time a comparatively poor man ; and, as it proves that in the midst of the general corruption in Bengal he had remained honest and upright, it is right to mention the fact that, on his return to India, he was obliged to borrow money for his outfit. At the close of his sojourn in England, the Court of Directors appointed him to a seat in the Council at Fort St. George next to the Governor. He embarked to take up his new appointment on board the ship *Duke of Grafton* early in 1769. Among the passengers were a German portrait-painter, Baron Imhoff, and his young and accomplished wife. During the voyage Warren Hastings was dangerously ill, and the lady helped

to nurse him in his sickness. An intimacy arose between them, and it was agreed that the husband should procure a divorce in Germany. The suit was preposterously long, but the divorce was at last procured; and, in the year 1777, after both the parties had gone to Calcutta, Warren Hastings married her. Charity demands that little should be said about this sad episode in his life. It was a clear breach of the divine command, and, as such, must openly be condemned by every Christian man; but it must be added, in justice to the memory of both, that they were most devotedly attached to each other, and lived together in the greatest earthly happiness until death parted them in mature old age.

During the recent years of political turmoil at Madras, the commercial interests of the Company had been greatly neglected, and the chief objects the Directors had in view in sending Mr. Hastings thither was for him to put their financial affairs there on a more satisfactory basis. In announcing his appointment the Court of Directors described him as "a gentleman who has served us many years upon the Bengal establishment with great ability and unblemished character." He applied himself to this special work with all his wonted energy and zeal. The investments of the Company were considerably improved; the purchases of silk and other goods were made directly with the weavers themselves, and not through middlemen; and the finances generally were placed on a better footing. The Court were so gratified with the judicious arrangements that were made under his supervision and advice that they appointed him President of the Council and Governor of Bengal in the hope that he would be equally energetic and judicious in reforming abuses and in checking malpractices there. He assumed charge of the government at Calcutta on April 13, 1772. He threw himself heart and soul into his new duties in Bengal. That Presidency was then in the transition state between the period of the East India Company's purely commercial position, and the coming period of their political governance and rule.

The President was in those days merely the senior mem-

ber of Council in which he had, however, a casting vote, that is, an extra vote when the votes of the members on each side of a question were equal. For the first two years Mr. Hastings was able to carry with him the majority of his Council on most of the important measures which he desired to pass. Some of these measures may here be mentioned. The principal questions related to the government of the province and the collection of the revenue. Since the conquest of Bengal and Behar, the nominal sovereignty had rested with the Nawab, but it was really in the hands of the Nazim or Deputy, who had been appointed by the English. In Bengal this power was exercised by a Muhammadan, named Muhammad Reza Khan: in Behar by a Hindu, named Raja Shitab Rai. Just a fortnight after Warren Hastings had taken his seat as President of the Council, a despatch was received from the Court of Directors announcing that they had determined to take into their own hands the sovereignty of these provinces, or, in the language of that time, "to stand forth as Dewan." The double government was to be abolished. The Company's officers were to have the entire management of the revenues, and the direct administration of the affairs of state. Mr. Hastings was at the same time ordered to remove both Muhammad Reza Khan and Raja Shitab Rai from power, and to place them on trial for embezzlement and oppression. The chief witness against the former was a Brahmin named Raja Nuncomar, hereafter to become still more notorious; but his evidence completely broke down, and Muhammad Reza Khan was acquitted. The charge against Raja Shitab Rai also failed.

The proclamation whereby the Company assumed the direct government of the country was issued May 11, 1772. Three days afterwards certain regulations for the settlement and collection of the revenue were passed, and thenceforward the chief duties of the Company's civil servants were the collection of the revenue and the administration of justice, the title of 'collector,' since so well-known, being then first employed. The very first duty which engaged the attention of the Government was to

place the revenue settlement on a firm basis and to evolve something like a system from the confused procedure of the past. The members of council, with Mr. Hastings at first at their head, went on a tour through the country to ascertain facts for themselves, and the result was that, in a few months, a scheme was prepared by which the land was farmed out to the Zemindars on a five years' lease, and this was the foundation on which, a few years later, the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis was erected. The good of the ryots themselves was steadily kept in view. It is pleasant to read in a despatch from England, only three years before, that the Director wished that "the ryots should be impressed in the most forcible and convincing manner that the tendency of all measures is to their ease and relief," and that all changes were intended "for the improvement of the lands, the content of the ryot, and the general happiness of the province in every consideration and point of view."

The purity of the Company's officials was the all important matter to be next considered. They were forbidden to accept presents or to hold land. They were to cease all connection with trade. Warren Hastings quietly but firmly carried out the Directors' orders against illegal trading. No free passes or illicit evasion of customs duties were to be permitted; at the same time the order of the Court for the punishment of offenders was not executed, it being thought advisable not to press the matter, as so many high in authority were implicated. The illegal action was forbidden, but the offender was ignored.

Equal vigour was shown by Mr. Hastings in his judicial arrangements. Courts were created in the provinces, a civil and a criminal court in each district. The collector was to preside over the former, while the old Muhammadan judicial authorities were to sit in the latter. Two chief and appellate courts were similarly established at Calcutta. Warren Hastings made arrangements also for the preparation of suitable codes of Hindu and Muhammadan law. The former was translated by learned pundits from Sanskrit into Persian, and Mr. Halhed, of the

Civil Service, was commissioned to translate it into English. Warren Hastings, in sending a copy of the earlier part of this treatise to his old school-fellow, the learned Chief Justice of England, Lord Mansfield, justly remarked that it was "a proof that the inhabitants of this land are not in the savage state in which they have been unfairly represented."

On the affairs of state being thus re-arranged, it became necessary to determine the future position of the household of the Nawab. The young Nawab was himself placed under the guardianship of Manni Begum, once the favourite wife of Mir Jaffier. His state allowance was reduced, but was of sufficient liberality to enable him, in the altered circumstances in which he was placed, to maintain his position with dignity, and the son of Nuncomar was appointed his Dewan. To Nuncomar himself Warren Hastings entertained the strongest feelings of suspicion and distrust; but, as the Court of Directors had desired that attention should be paid to him, Mr. Hastings thought it wiser to show this attention by promoting his son. All these arrangements received the approval of the Court. The internal government of the province had thus been placed in a tolerably satisfactory condition, far better than at anytime since the conquest of Bengal, and very much like what it afterwards became when deficiencies had been detected and irregularities adjusted; and half-a-dozen years of Warren Hastings's vigorous rule would, if subsequent events had not intervened, have most probably put affairs in such a position as to give satisfaction to the people of the country, to the Court of Directors, and to the Government of England.

We do not think it necessary to treat of the policy of the Bengal Government with regard to foreign affairs at this juncture with the exception of the negotiations with the Nawab Vizier of Oudh and the invasion of Rohilkhand, the controversy about which so considerably affected Warren Hastings' future career. The provinces of Korah and Allahabad had been assigned to the unfortunate Emperor of Delhi by Lord Clive in 1705, "as a royal demesne for

the support of his dignity and expenses." The Emperor had first abandoned these provinces, and then granted them to the Mahrattas, who were at this time spreading all over the country, in the search for plunder and rapine. Warren Hastings, supported by his Council, considered this incompatible with the honour of the Company and the safety of the English dominions. He himself went to Benares, where he had an interview with Snjah-ud-Dowla, the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, and it was agreed to bestow these provinces on him on his consenting to pay forty lakhs of rupees, and to maintain the English battalion stationed there for defence. He was of opinion that he was doing the best for all parties in thus strengthening the English alliance with the Nawab Vizier, and in raising a compact barrier against the incursions of the Mahrattas. The treaty of Benares was executed on September 7, 1773. The negotiations leading up to it were conducted by Mr. Hastings and the Nawab alone, and the following extract from the account of the interview written by the former gives us a deeply interesting peep behind the curtain, and his own estimate of his proficiency in Urdu. "Every circumstance of the negotiation," he says, "required that it should be managed by that familiar and confidential intercourse which can take place only between two persons unembarrassed by interruption, and unchecked by the reserve which always attends a conversation held between strangers and before many witnesses. Fortunately, too, the habit which I had acquired of speaking the Hindustani language, though imperfect, yet aided on the part of the Vizier by a very clear and easy elocution, and an uncommonly quick apprehension, greatly facilitated this mode of communication, and not only forwarded the conclusion of our debates; but, I am persuaded, left him much better pleased with what had passed than if it had been conveyed to him through the doubtful channel of an interpreter."

The subject of the invasion of Rohilkhand was also discussed at this important, but familiar, interview. That province formed an irregular tract to the north-west of Oudh,

being bounded on the east and north by the Himalayas, and on the west by the Ganges. Being in early times a Hindu kingdom named Kather, it had, for the last century or so, been held by a race of Pathan adventurers from Afghanistan. It had recently been invaded by the ubiquitous Mahrattas, and the chief ruler, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, had agreed to pay the Nawab Vizier forty lakhs, if he helped him to eject these troublesome invaders. Assistance had been rendered, but payment had been withheld. The Nawab Vizier was, therefore, very anxious to punish Hafiz, and to annex the province, and proposed to Mr. Hastings that the English should help him in this project. At first Warren Hastings was much opposed to this scheme. The Nawab Vizier consequently put it on one side at the time; but no sooner had Warren Hastings returned to Calcutta than it was revived. Hafiz Rahmat Khan was treating with the Mahrattas, so the Nawab Vizier determined to invade Rohilkhand and openly demanded English assistance. The Council at Calcutta agreed to give it, "considering the strict alliance and engagements which subsisted between the Company and Sujah Dowla." The English forces advanced with those of the Nawab, and on April 23, 1774, gained a signal victory, when Rahmat Khan fell slain and, in a brief period, the country was conquered for him. The Nawab's troops were accused of perpetrating much cruelty during the course of their occupation, but this was considerably exaggerated for party purposes. Col. Champion, the English Commander did his best to stay such atrocities, and the Government praised him for this. "We are exceedingly happy to learn," were the words they used, "that you from the beginning opposed and at last obtained a stop to be put to the devastation of the Rohilla country by the army of the Vizier, a mistaken policy altogether incompatible with the design of the war and repugnant to humanity, and we have a sensible pleasure in testifying our entire approbation of your conduct in this respect." Warren Hastings wrote to Mr. Middleton, Resident at the Court of Oudh, to the same effect. "I desire," he said, "that you will take an immediate occasion to remonstrate with the

Nawab against every act of cruelty or wanton violence. The country is his and the people his subjects. They claim by that relation his tenderest regard and unremitted protection. The family of Hafiz have never injured him, but have a claim to his protection in default of that of which he has deprived them. Tell him that the English manners are abhorrent of every species of inhumanity and oppression, and enjoin the gentlest treatment of a vanquished enemy." It appears from these contemporary documents that excesses had been committed, and that the Government of Bengal and the President energetically protested against them at once. The country was not generally devastated; but the ruling Afghans were expelled, and the 750,000 Hindu cultivators of the soil were left to till their lands in peace under a new ruler. The justification of the policy of granting assistance to the Nawab should also be given in his own words. "Our ally," he wrote, "would obtain by the acquisition of this country a compact state shut in effectually by the Ganges all the way from the frontiers of Behar to the mountains of Thibet. It would give him wealth, of which we should partake, and give him security without any dangerous increase of power. I must further declare that I regard as none of the most inconsiderable benefits of the Company, besides the forty lakhs, the easing them immediately of the burthen of one-third of their whole army." There may now be doubts of the policy of this war, but there can be none of the humanity of the Government and Hastings.

Indian affairs at this time occupied much of the time of the Parliament and Government of England. Their attention resulted in a measure which is known as the Regulating Act of 1773, the principal provisions of which created a Governor-General of Bengal with a Council of four, under whom were placed the Governments of Madras and Bombay, and a Supreme Court of Judicature consisting of a Chief Justice and three Judges, who were to have jurisdiction over British subjects, and over others in the Presidency town of Calcutta. Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General. The new Councillors

were Mr. Barwell a civilian, who had been in the old Council, General Clavering, the Honorable Colonel Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis. The Chief Justice was Sir Elijah Impey. The Councillors from England landed at Calcutta on October 19, 1774. They were not in the best of tempers. The severe heat tried them. They were received with a salute of 17 guns whereas they expected one of 21. They considered that Mr. Hastings had not met them with sufficient courtesy and respect. At the first formal meeting of the Council their irritable temper burst forth; and, as the life of Warren Hastings for the next few years consisted of one continuous, long-drawn contention with these men, we must pause for a little space to picture their first business interview. It must be borne in mind that, under the new Act, the Governor-General and each Councillor had a vote, so that the majority carried the day on every question.

Let us imagine ourselves in the Council Chamber in Fort William on October 25, 1774. Seated in the President's chair is the Governor-General, a man of a short, spare figure, just forty-two years of age, dressed in the long flapped waistcoat, embroidered coat, and frilled collar and cuffs of the period. He has a clear-cut and rather aquiline nose, bright, grave eyes, and firm, compressed lips. Of a naturally quick and sensitive temper, which a long residence in India has not tended to improve, he has it under thorough control. Intimate with the character of Hindu and Muhammadan, and fully acquainted with the policy of the Company, with the revenue system of Bengal, and with the foreign affairs of India, he is thoroughly conversant with every question that can be brought before the Council. Near him is Mr. Richard Barwell, a man of good ability, who, after many years spent in India, is also well acquainted with Indian questions, but not of such wide experience as Mr. Hastings, or of such acute penetration into matters. He had formerly been opposed to the Governor-General on certain questions, but is now his good friend and firm supporter.

The other Councillors know positively nothing of India.

General Clavering has fair abilities, but is a hot-headed, blunt officer, full of strong prejudices, and without a particle of self-control. The next is Colonel Monson, who possesses, perhaps, the slightest intellect of the three, and is easily persuaded and led by the other. All the intellect and most of the spite is centred in Mr. Philip Francis. Generally identified with an anonymous writer on English politics called Junius, whose productions ceased just as Mr. Francis left England, his character seems exactly to correspond with that of this celebrated author. He has a malignant, harsh, vindictive disposition. He writes in a hard, clear, forcible style, which never fails to put forward the strong side of each subject he deals with, and to keep in the back-ground all that is unfavourable to his purpose. He is a man who hates with an undying hatred, and never forgives a foe. From his writings we can easily imagine the cold, composed, sarcastic nature of his speech.

At the Council meeting on the previous day, the Governor-General had placed before the members a Minute clearly describing the revenue system of Bengal and the history of the Rohilla war. The latter is the subject which excites the attention of the new Councillors. General Clavering rises and demands in their name that the whole of the correspondence both public and private which had passed between Warren Hastings and Mr. Middleton should be produced. Col. Monson and Mr. Francis support this demand. The Governor-General offers to produce the whole of the public correspondence, but politely and firmly declines to let them see his private letters on the ground that such conduct would be an unjustifiable breach of confidence, though he offers to make such extracts from them as would tend to elucidate all the facts. From this moment a breach occurs between the Councillors recently arrived from England and the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell, which never closed.

Henceforward the Council Chamber became a battlefield of faction, clearly showing that, however, excellent the theory of Government as laid down in the Regulating Act might have been, it led in practice to perpetual strife.

The majority became the dominant power. The whole policy of the Rohilla war was reversed. Mr. Middleton was removed from his position as Resident at the Vizier's Court ; a friend of the majority was appointed in his stead ; the Company's troops were withdrawn ; demand was made for the immediate payment of the subsidy of forty lakhs. It would be tedious to go into further details so far as they do not relate to the life of Warren Hastings. Minute after minute was written ; long letters were addressed to the Court of Directors and to the ministry in England ; and we must picture Mr. Hastings, supported by Mr. Barwell, standing like a noble stag at bay, in deadly conflict with unscrupulous opponents, who never omitted to take advantage of any opportunity of worrying and thwarting him.

The next great event was a charge of bribery brought against the Governor-General by Raja Nuncomar. We have already mentioned this man, whom Warren Hastings had for several years regarded with suspicion, but whose son he had promoted in deference to the command of the Court of Directors, who had desired that he should be treated with consideration. Observing that the authority of Government had been usurped by the majority in the Council and every act of the Governor-General had been condemned, Nuncomar thought this a fitting moment to cringe to them, and to show his malignity and spite towards Hastings. At the meeting of the Council on 11th March, 1775, Mr. Francis produced a letter from Nuncomar, the contents of which he professed not to know. On its being opened it proved to contain a charge against the Governor-General of having received more than three lakhs of Rupees from the Manni Begum and himself, when the former was appointed guardian of the young Nawab of Bengal. On the 13th Colonel Monson proposed that Nuncomar should be admitted to the Council to make his accusation in person. The Governor-General indignantly and justly refused to permit such an insult, and, after an exciting scene, he left the room, dissolving the meeting, Mr. Barwell following him, though

he did not refuse to permit an inquiry into the charge by a properly constituted Committee in his absence. The three friends, with exquisite want of taste and judgment, actually admitted Nuncomar into the Council Chamber, after Mr. Hastings had quitted it; and, after a hurried inquiry characterised by an utter absence of judicial acumen, pronounced him guilty of bribery, and demanded that the money should be paid to the Company. Warren Hastings knew Nuncomar's character thoroughly. He had, thirteen years before, been appointed to try him for forgery, and his decision against him is still on record. He utterly refused to submit to the illegal judgment of the majority. During the next few weeks the time of these Councillors of state was spent in visiting Nuncomar and others, and in virtually helping and inciting them to prepare fresh charges against their President. Hindu society in Calcutta was convulsed with these unwonted proceedings; English society was split into factions.

Suddenly, as it seemed, a charge of obtaining a sum of money by a forged bond was brought against Nuncomar by one Mohan Prasad. This man had been endeavouring for years to get this charge taken up by the old Court at Calcutta. It was now brought before the new Court. Nuncomar was put in jail on May 6. During the time he was in confinement under trial, the three Councillors visited him in jail, and still continued their underhand intrigues. On June 8, he was tried before a bench consisting of Sir Elijah Impey and the other three judges, arrayed in all the gorgeous but heavy robes used by judges in England. The trial lasted eight days. Nuncomar was found guilty of forgery and sentenced to death. He was publicly executed on August 5. He was most justly condemned; but it appears to us that the sentence was equally unjust. The English law on this subject as it then stood was cruel, and it seems monstrous to have applied it to Hindus, whose law contained no such unmerciful provision. But the judges thought they were right, and there is not a shadow of proof that Warren Hastings was either the real mover in the affair or influenced the judges in their decision.

Nuncomar, in the natural course of events, was now removed from crossing his path. The three Councillors had flattered and abetted Nuncomar while free and while under trial; but after sentence had been past, did not even hold out a little finger to help him.

For a brief season after this celebrated trial, there was comparative tranquillity in the Council; but it was not long before the old wearying squabbling was resumed. What Hastings proposed was invariably disapproved by the opposite party, and their measures were rarely approved by Hastings. It seemed as if there was a determined effort made to compel him to resign, and both Clavering and Francis were longing to succeed him in his post. At one time he wrote to his friends in England to present his resignation to the Court of Directors, but directly Nuncomar was removed he retracted these instructions. At length, on June 19, 1777, despatches were received from the Court of Directors stating that his resignation had been accepted, and that General Clavering who had received the honour of knighthood, had been appointed to succeed him. Hastings was about to acquiesce, but Sir John Clavering's over-eagerness to assume his new honours, caused him to hold firm. Sir John had himself sworn in as Governor-General, and commanded the troops to obey his orders. Hastings gave counter-orders and was obeyed. An appeal was made to the Supreme Court, and all four judges gave judgment in Hastings' favour. "It was quite evident," they said, "that the Governor-General was not removed and had not resigned," and that, as yet, there was no vacancy. In two months Sir John Clavering was removed by death. Hastings had now a majority in the Council by using his casting vote. Col. Monson had died in the preceding year. Though there was much excitement and many quarrels in the Council Chamber, we purpose not to mention them further, with the exception of one incident which led to a final breach with Mr. Francis. Just before Mr. Barwell's departure from India, a compact was entered into between the Governor-General and Mr. Francis, in which the latter agreed no longer to oppose him, but to give his measures a general support.

This is proved by the records, but Mr. Francis denied and broke this agreement; and Mr. Hastings, on one occasion, deliberately permitted his temper to overcome his judgment, and wrote the following words in an official minute:—"I do not trust to his promise of candour, convinced that he is not capable of it, and that his sole purpose and wish are to embarrass and defeat every measure which I may undertake. I judge of his public conduct by my experience of his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour." Mr. Hastings had given his opponent a copy of the minute in which these words occurred the day before the meeting of Council, and the latter was so exasperated that, after the meeting, he presented the Governor-General with a challenge to fight. On the next day, but one, August 17, 1780, a duel was fought between them; that is, they went together into a retired field near the city with only two or three witnesses; and, standing a certain distance apart, fired at each other with pistols. Mr. Francis was wounded by Mr. Hastings' shot, but not fatally. He recovered after a time, but never forgave his antagonist. He left the country in the following December, completely foiled in his malicious endeavour to oust the Governor-General, and to succeed to his place; but he renewed the conflict in England, and was the prime mover in the long persecution, which is hereafter to be related. A few words should be said regarding this duel. Public opinion among Englishmen is now so completely opposed to such a mode of settling disputes that we can scarcely understand the toleration of it in those days. It was a barbarous custom, and one of which men calling themselves Christian ought to have been thoroughly ashamed. Refusing a challenge, even at that time, would have showed greater moral courage than accepting one; but the whole affair, from beginning to end, was directly contrary to the law of God and to the spirit of the Gospel of Christ.

Henceforward Warren Hastings was left undisturbed and unopposed to carry out his own measures. Never was there more need of a man of calm and cool judgment at the

head of affairs in India. The British possessions were menaced from two separate quarters. The Mahrattas were pressing on them in the West and Central India, and Hyder Ali in the South ; but Hastings' masterly policy, seconded strenuously by most courageous and competent officers, was entirely successful. We have not space to go into detail here. Suffice it to mention a little more fully two matters of foreign policy, because they were brought against the Governor-General as serious items in the charges made regarding his conduct in the government. Raja Cheyt Singh, then Zemindar of Benares, had been a dependent of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, who, in 1775, transferred all his rights over him to the Company. He was not an independent sovereign, but held his Zemindari by a sunnud granted by the English Government, and had executed an agreement binding himself to do everything that was needful for the safety and defence of his territory. For some time he had been behind in paying his kists. At this period of imminent peril to the Company's dominions, Sir Eyre Coote, the Commander-in-Chief, proposed that, in addition to an increased tribute, he should be required to furnish a body of cavalry for the defence of the Empire. He evaded, and eventually refused this demand. The Governor-General, who certainly bore no good will towards Cheyt Singh for advances he had undoubtedly made to his adversaries in the Council, but who as certainly cannot be justly accused of allowing private animosity to influence his public conduct, determined to inflict on him a fine for his contumacy. As Mr. Hastings was about to visit Lucknow for the purpose of conference with the Nawab Vizier regarding the affairs of Oudh, he resolved to stay at Benares on his way. Arriving there on August 15, 1781, he sent on the next day a formal demand through the Resident for the payment of fifty lakhs of rupees to the Company. On this being refused, he placed him under arrest in his palace under a guard of two companies of sepoys. The populace rose ; the guard, who were unaccountably without ammunition, were overcome and slain ; the Raja, whose palace was on the

steep bank of the river, let himself down by a rope of turbans, and fled in a boat to one of his fortresses. This sudden insurrection set the whole country in a tumult. The Governor-General was in imminent peril; but, in the very centre of the storm, he retained a marvellous calmness and presence of mind. Not only messages for assistance and despatches to his colleagues, but papers of the utmost moment regarding the Mahratta campaign, were sent in secret writings contained in the ear-rings of the messengers. On the fourth evening, hearing that the house he was in was to be attacked, he retreated, with the five and thirty English gentlemen and officers and about four hundred sepoys who constituted his escort, to Chunar. Help was coming from every quarter. He was beloved by officers and sepoys alike, and ere long all resistance had ceased. The storm lulled as swiftly as it arose. By November the town and Zemindari of Benares were brought under good and regular government. The territory was placed in the possession of a cousin of Cheyt Singh, and admirable police and municipal arrangements were made for the town by Warren Hastings.

The second matter to which reference should here be made is the case of the Begums of Oudh. Shuja-ud-Dowlah, the late Nawab of that country had left a large amount of treasure which, contrary to Muhammadan law, had been taken possession of by his mother and widow, who also possessed certain jaghirs and a large force of armed retainers. Some years before the recent events occurred, they had lent a large sum of money to the present Nawab, and their jaghirs had been guaranteed to them by the English Government. All the proceedings at that time were conducted by the majority against the judgment of Mr. Hastings. At this juncture, the Nawab Vizier was considerably in arrears in his payments to the Company, and the Government of Bengal, sorely prest to carry on the wars in other parts of India, demanded payment from the Nawab, who, on a visit to Hastings when at Chunar, earnestly requested that he might be permitted to resume the Begums' jaghirs. Permission was granted not only

for the resumption of these estates, but for the appropriation of his father's treasure. The whole country of Oudh had been excited to the core by the revolt at Benares, and it was proved by incontrovertible evidence that the Begums had been actively assisting Cheyt Singh. Hastings, deeply convinced of their guilt, permitted the Resident to help the Nawab in obtaining the treasure by the employment of British troops against the ill-disciplined levies of the Begums in their palace at Faizabad. They were kept in confinement, and their two chief ministers were compelled to surrender the treasure by more rigorous treatment than the Resident ought to have permitted. How far Hastings is answerable for this treatment is a matter for serious consideration. It was just to visit the contumacy and disaffection of the Begums with retribution; but nothing approaching ill-treatment ought ever to have been even tacitly sanctioned.

Warren Hastings' career in India was now fast drawing to a close. He intended to retire at the beginning of 1784; but affairs at Lucknow were so unsatisfactory that he determined to proceed thither before he left the country. Mrs. Hastings, therefore, sailed alone from Calcutta in January and in the following month he proceeded to Lucknow, deeply grieved at having to part with his beloved companion. After arranging matters in Oudh, he returned to Calcutta in November, and on the 1st of February, he delivered over charge of the Government to the senior member of Council, and sailed for England on the 8th of that month. By that date peace and tranquillity had been restored. Hyder Ali in the south had been defeated and was now dead; the Mahrattas had been subdued and were, for a season, quiet; the French had been vanquished; and Oudh and the countries bordering on Bengal were tranquil. The broad foundations for the English supremacy had been laid, mainly by the genius of this one man.

Warren Hastings landed on the shores of his native land on June 13, 1785. The reception he experienced at first deluded him into the belief that the essential services he had rendered the Empire would be appreciated, and that

he would be suffered to remain at peace. In this he was thoroughly mistaken. Hardly a week had elapsed before notice of opposition to him was given by Mr. Burke, in the House of Commons. The bitter conflict against him which had been carried on in the Council Chamber at Calcutta was renewed on a greater and more august stage. The noblest orators of the age took a prominent part in it. English statesmen like Pitt and Fox, eloquent orators like Burke, Sheridan, and Grey, eminent judges like Thurlow and Ellenborough, took their respective sides, and the whole of London society was divided by the political turmoil. But behind them all, Francis, now in the House of Commons, with his deep-seated malignity and rancour, was prompting and instigating the attack. After several animated debates in the House, in which Pitt, then Prime Minister, changed sides, and, on comparatively trivial grounds, sanctioned the prosecution, it was decided that Hastings should be impeached before the House of Lords on various charges of mal-administration. There then occurred a scene of unparalleled interest and gorgeous solemnity. The trial took place in a splendid hall of historical celebrity. This beautiful room, still in existence, is situated opposite Westminster Abbey, and adjoins the present House of Commons and is connected by corridors with the House of Lords. Westminster Hall had in by-gone days been the scene of the trial of Charles the First. The impeachment of a commoner was, however, an event of rare occurrence. It consequently attracted all the most celebrated men and women in the metropolis.

The trial began on February 13, 1788. Lord Thurlow, the Lord High Chancellor of England, presided. The vast hall was thronged, and before that illustrious assembly, Warren Hastings appeared and respectfully bowed as he listened to the charges made against him. His appearance is thus described by one of the spectators:—"A man very infirm and much indisposed, dressed in a plain, poppy-coloured suit of clothes. His small, spare figure was, however, still upright, and his bearing showed a due mixture of deference and dignity. A high forehead, with arched eye-

brows overhanging soft, sad eyes, which presently flashed defiance on his accusers, a long, sensitive nose that contrasted with the firmer lines of his mouth and chin, and the calm pallor of an oval face framed in brown waving hair." The charges and Hastings' reply occupied the first two days. The principal charges were concerned with the invasion of Rohilkhand, treatment of the Raja of Benares, the spoliation of the Begums of Oudh, and the treatment of the people of Bengal. On the third day Burke rose and his speech, which was intended as an introduction to all the charges, lasted four days. It was a master-piece of ingenious eloquence, and its effect on the audience was marvellous. Ladies sobbed and screamed and fainted. The concluding words electrified all who were present: "I impeach Warren Hastings in the name of the Commons' House of Parliament, whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation, whose ancient honour he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose rights he has trodden under foot, and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all!" The only other speech of thrilling interest was that of Sheridan, who undertook the defence of the Begums of Oudh, and who concluded his peroration by gracefully falling into the arms of his friend Burke with the affectation of being completely overcome. The first part of the trial lasted thirty-five days, and the High Court of Parliament then adjourned.

The trial afterwards degenerated into a mere farce. It dragged its slow length wearily along, and did not come to an end for seven years. Then Warren Hastings, on April 23, 1795, was acquitted on all the charges on which he had been arraigned. The chief actors in the prosecution had considerably changed; public opinion on it had entirely altered; and the popular interest in it had completely died out. With regard to this celebrated trial, it ought to be borne in mind that much unworthy political feeling lay behind it, and it is impossible to estimate

it properly because we are unacquainted with all that was transpiring behind the outward show. The broad fact, however, remains that, after a solemn trial before the High Court of Parliament, as represented by the most illustrious peers of the realm, Warren Hastings was judicially acquitted of cruelty, rapacity and injustice; and we are called upon by every principle of good feeling to believe the concluding words of his defence, which we consider it fair to quote as a set-off against Burke's passionate invective. The opinion of the present day, confirmed by the recent publication of the records of that period which had been preserved in Calcutta, is more inclined to believe his statements than the rhetoric of Macaulay, Sheridan, and Burke. "In the presence," he said, "of that Being from whom no secrets are hid, I do, upon a full review and scrutiny of my past life, unequivocally and conscientiously declare that in the administration of that trust of Government which was so many years confided to me, I did in no instance intentionally sacrifice the interests of my country to any private views of personal advantage; that, according to my best skill and judgment, I invariably promoted the essential interests of my employers, the happiness and prosperity of the people committed to my charge, and the welfare and honour of my country."

The cost of this trial was ruinous. Warren Hastings, who had never been a careful manager of his own private resources, and who has been entirely acquitted by all impartial writers of having acquired wealth dishonestly, was unable to meet the amount. He naturally applied to the Prime Minister, expecting as he had been acquitted, that the costs of the trial should be paid by the nation, but this was declined. Eventually the Court of Directors voted him a pension of £4,000 a year for twenty-eight years, and lent him £50,000 without interest. He had been promised a peerage by some persons in office, but this was impossible so long as Pitt and Fox were in power. Later on he received the honour of being made one of the King's Privy Councillors. At the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813, he was examined

as a witness by the House of Commons, and, as he retired after giving his evidence, the members rose and uncovered as he withdrew—a compliment which he much appreciated. The House of Lords did the same. There is no doubt that, in his declining years, he was always received with respect, on the rare occasions when he appeared in public.

The greater part of his time, however, he spent in the ordinary occupations of a country gentleman. Before the great trial, he had fulfilled one of the darling objects of his life by purchasing Daylesford, the ancestral estate of his family. He occupied himself in rebuilding and decorating the old manor house, in riding, and in attempting to raise Indian vegetables and fruits on English soil. He also found pleasure and relaxation in literary pursuits. He was fond of writing verses, and amused himself by reading what he had just written to Mrs. Hastings and their guests as they were seated at breakfast. The following is a specimen of these effusions, which, we believe, has never yet appeared in print. It is taken from a poem on a beautiful statue called the Dying Gladiator.

It was written May 9, 1810.

THE DYING GLADIATOR.

“High in the foremost rank of sculptured stone
The Dying Gladiator long has shone.
Be mine the hope, with emulative fire,
To track the chisel, nor disgrace the lyre.
Low, but not prostrate, languid, yet with strength,
Too proud to expire in ease and at his length;
Mark yon stern champion, in the act to die,
Oppose at once and yield to destiny.

* * * * *

While the large chest, with an ill-stifled sigh,
Scarce heard, bespeak the last convulsion nigh,
When from his throat the accumulated gore
Shall burst—a deluge—and he breathes no more,
We trace, we feel his sufferings, hear him groan,
Nor e'en suspicion whispers—‘This is stone.’”

In innocent recreation such as this, varied by occasional visits to old friends or to London, Warren Hastings spent his long old age.

He enjoyed excellent health, but in 1818 it began to give way. A few months or weeks of very severe suffering and illness ensued, and on August 22, he quietly died. He was buried just behind the little church of Daylesford, which he had recently helped to repair. A bust was raised to his memory in Westminster Abbey, where many great Englishmen have been commemorated or laid.

Thus ended a life of singular variety and interest. As a statesman Warren Hastings was peculiarly clear-headed, calm, and resolute. There can be no question that the structure of the English Empire in India owed to him the broad and deep foundation on which it is built. Whatever his fellow-countrymen may have said of him, the inhabitants of Bengal were thoroughly attached to him. The army of that day was devoted to him. Both Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, his immediate successors, are witnesses to the love entertained for him by the people of Bengal. As to his private character, we are unable to attribute to him such unqualified praise. He was essentially a great, but we can scarcely call him a good, man. The principles on which he acted were evidently those of a thorough man of the world, and appear to have been grounded on mere expediency without a thought beyond. He showed himself hard and unyielding in his private enmities and dislikes; and, while, as men, we cannot but admire the undaunted and courageous manner in which he met the long and persistent attacks made upon him, he does not seem to us to have understood the gentler principles and the higher motives on which the lives of Christian men are fashioned.



LOED CORNWALLIS.

II.—LORD CORNWALLIS.

A. D. 1786—1793 AND 1805.

BORN 1738 ; DIED, 1805.

“The secret consciousness
Of duty well performed ; the public voice
Of praise that honours virtue and rewards it ;
All these are yours.”

Francis.

LORD Cornwallis had the high honour of twice holding the office of Governor-General of Bengal. He was born on the last day of the year 1738. Born of a noble family, he was sent for the early part of his education to Eton, a school of ancient foundation, near the royal borough of Windsor, on the river Thames, where it was customary for many of the nobility of England to send their sons. While there, his father was promoted to an earldom, and he assumed the second title of the family, and was known as Lord Brome. One day during this period of his life, a school fellow accidentally hit him in the eye with a stick, and the blow was so serious that it occasioned a slight, but permanent, obliquity of vision that lasted through life. At the age of eighteen, he chose the army as his profession, and, leaving school, he entered the First Regiment of the King of England's Guards. Obtaining leave for the purpose, he took a tour on the continent of Europe, and, for a short time, studied at the Royal Military Academy at Turin in Italy. About this period the famous Seven Years' War commenced, and Lord Brome hastened to join the English army which had been despatched to take part in it on the Prussian side. He was engaged, first as the English General's aide-de-camp, and afterwards in command of a regiment, in several of the battles that occurred.

Family circumstances soon demanded the young nobleman's presence in England. His father died June 23, 1762, and he succeeded him as Earl Cornwallis, taking his seat in the English House of Peers. At first he served with his

regiment in various parts of England and Ireland; but, after a time, he received an appointment at the Court of the King, and subsequently was given the more important posts of Vice-Treasurer of Ireland and Constable of the Tower of London. He seems to have been diligent in attendance to his duties in the House of Lords, and to have brought upon himself by his conduct there the honour of an unmerited rebuke from that very unscrupulous writer Junius. On July 14, 1768, Lord Cornwallis married Miss Jones, daughter of Colonel Jones, who commanded one of the Regiments of Guards. He and his wife lived together most happily during the short period of their union. She died eleven years after their marriage, her death being accelerated, or, perhaps, wholly occasioned by her grief at his absence during the American War of Independence. She said herself that she died of a broken heart, and she requested that a thorn-tree might be planted over her grave above the part where her heart would lie, as an emblem of the sad lot of her whom the 'pricking briars and grieving thorns' had so terribly lacerated. This touching whim was tenderly complied with.

We have thus slightly anticipated the next most eventful period of Lord Cornwallis' life. From 1776 to 1781 he was engaged in the disastrous and humiliating war between England and her revolted colonies in America. During this time he went to England twice, on the second occasion being just in time to see his beloved wife once more. His heart had yearned to enjoy the tranquil pleasure and the solid satisfaction of domestic life, and he felt this so strongly that he resigned the high position he held as second in command of the army in the field; but the sad blow of Lady Cornwallis' death induced him to offer his services again to his sovereign, and he became thenceforward devotedly attached to the profession of arms, and duty alone was the guiding star of his existence. The following incident will serve to illustrate the state of his mind at this trying time. A few months after his return to America, it was determined to attempt the capture of Charlestown by assault, and, notwithstanding his responsi-

ble position, he offered to join the storming party, and to risk his life as one of the subordinate officers in the perilous attempt. The assault, however, did not take place. This anecdote is given rather to show the chivalrous devotion of Lord Cornwallis as a part of his personal character than as a piece of the history of the War of Independence in America. It is not intended to enter into the narrative of that war, as it is not connected with India. Suffice it to say that it was carried on in the most irregular fashion. Successes were never followed up; there were dissensions between the two chiefs, Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis; and, above all, there was the prevalent feeling among all ranks that they were supporting a falling and unpopular cause. Notwithstanding any opinion that may be formed as to the soundness of his judgment on all matters, there can be no hesitation in asserting that the most brilliant achievements of the war were performed by Lord Cornwallis, and that, if they could have been properly followed up, the final result might have been very different. He was in command of the troops at York Town, when, on the failure of relief by sea, they were compelled to surrender to General Washington, the American Commander-in-Chief, which was practically the final catastrophe in that ill-fated and ill-managed war. He held out as long as he possibly could, and, with soldierly instinct, conceived the plan of abandoning his position to the south of the river on which York Town was situated, of withdrawing his forces to the north bank, and of then cutting his way through the enemy's troops in that quarter, and joining the remainder of the British Army further north. This desperate plan was frustrated by a violent storm arising and preventing the passage of the greater part of his men. Foiled in this endeavour, he was compelled to surrender on hard, but sufficiently honorable, terms on October 19, 1781. He was himself detained on a prisoner on parole, and eventually returned to England, where he arrived early in January, 1782. For some time he was on parole, that is, he was prevented, on his word of honour, from serving

against the American colonists, for several months until an exchange was effected between him and an American officer of rank. The French had latterly been acting as the allies of the American army, and had been employed with them in the siege of York Town; and, as bearing on the chivalrous character of Lord Cornwallis, the following kindly notice of the French officers in their treatment of their captive enemies is quoted: "The treatment," he wrote, "that we have received from the enemy since our surrender has been perfectly good and proper; but the kindness and attention that has been shewn us by the French officers in particular—their delicate sensibility of our situation—their generous and pressing offer of money—has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every British officer, whenever the fortune of war should put any of them in our power." This delicacy of conduct and feeling reflected the greatest honour on either side.

1583]

So soon as Lord Cornwallis had become a free agent, he wished to be employed once more on military service. At one period the English ministry then in authority were desirous to appoint him Commander-in-chief in India, and at another to give him the position of Governor-General. He was at first most reluctant to accept either post. Deeply impressed with the manifest disadvantage of the state of affairs which had led to the scandalous dissensions between Warren Hastings and his councillors at Calcutta, he was very clear in expressing his reluctance to place himself in a similar position, and very firm in adhering to his resolution not to go out to India unless both offices were conferred upon him, and he was invested with the power of acting in emergencies on his own individual responsibility. There was also prominently rising in his mind the anxiety not to be separated from his children, who were then attaining an age when they needed most a father's tender care. There was also still lurking in his heart the consuming ambition for military glory. These sentiments are evident in the noble

expression of his views in a letter to a friend, when the Prime Minister, Mr. Pitt, made him an offer of the combined civil and military power in India. This idea was in an unsettled and inchoate condition, when he wrote:—"I told Lord Sydney," who spoke to him on the premier's behalf, "that I could not think of it with pleasure, that it did not agree with my favourite passion" (by which he meant military renown), but that as soon as their plan was put into an intelligible form, I would consider whether I could undertake it with any appearance of utility to the public; and that if that should be the case, I might be induced to sacrifice every prospect of comfort and happiness in this world to the service of my country and the advantage of my family. In short my mind is much agitated. Yet inclination cries out every moment, Do not think of it; why should you volunteer plague and misery? Duty then whispers, You are not sent here merely to please yourself; the wisdom of Providence has thought fit to put an insuperable bar to any great degree of happiness. Try to be of some use; serve your country and your friends; your continued circumstances do not allow you to contribute to the happiness of others by generosity and extensive charity; take the means which God is willing to place in your hands." In these high-minded words are to be found the keynote to Lord Cornwallis' noble character. He felt that he had not been sent into the world to please himself, and that he was bound to sacrifice his own ease and his own inclinations in order to be of service to his country and to mankind. The negotiations regarding his appointment were protracted; and meanwhile he visited Berlin having been permitted by Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, to be present at the reviews of the Prussian army, and was empowered to enter into certain confidential negotiations with that celebrated monarch. On his return to England he received the double appointment of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India, with the full individual responsibility that he desired. In announcing this to his friend Colonel Ross, it seems that his acceptance of the offer was still very much against the grain. "The pro-

posal of going to India," he said, "has been pressed upon me so strongly that, much against my will and with grief of heart, I have been obliged to say yes, and to exchange a life of ease and content, to encounter all the miseries of command and public station." Seldom has such a splendid position been so reluctantly accepted.

Lord Cornwallis set sail from England May 6, 1756, on board the *Swallow*, and reached Calcutta on September 11. One of his companions on the voyage was that distinguished Civilian, Mr. Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, his immediate successor, who had been appointed to a seat in the Council at Calcutta, and who was also going out, sorely against his will and entirely from a sense of duty and for the benefit of the State. A close intimacy between these two eminent men sprang up and ripened into permanent friendship; and many an earnest conversation regarding the country to which they were hastening, its peoples, its revenue systems, and its political condition, must have lightened the tedium of the voyage. The day after the arrival of the vessel Lord Cornwallis landed in the early morning, and assumed charge of the offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. His accession to power marks an epoch in the history of the Company's territories in India. The sound policy of appointing to the highest position in the state a nobleman of unblemished character and exalted rank was inaugurated. With only two exceptions this policy has since been steadily pursued. It is now clearly seen how manifest is the advantage of having at the head of affairs a statesman of independent views, who, coming straight from office in England, can exercise a calm and impartial judgment in all important matters, entirely free from local prejudice and from party intrigue, and can give the ruling authorities in England wise and sound advice on both political and domestic questions, while having the power, in cases of emergency, to act on his own individual responsibility. There is, of course, the disadvantage, on the one hand, of his being, to a great extent, ignorant of the languages, the habits, and the history of the people of India, and the possibility of his being

influenced by the representations of some prejudiced clique by whom he may be surrounded. But, on the other hand, the clear views and the extensive knowledge of human character which a high-minded and independent statesman was likely to possess, and the overwhelming probability that, in all his ministrations, he will prove himself pure in his policy and unbiassed in his judgment, far outweigh the possible disadvantages on the other side.

The first task to which Lord Cornwallis applied himself was the reformation of the Civil Service. Several attempts in this direction had been made by Lord Clive, when Governor of Bengal, and by Warren Hastings; but they had proved only the cleansing of the outside, while corruption was rampant within. The whole system required to be thoroughly remodelled. The Court of Directors were, we believe, really anxious for the purity and the welfare of their servants; but they were very loathe to sanction any change in the system which gave their officials very low and inadequate salaries, while they were permitted to supplement their incomes by commission and by trade. Lord Cornwallis was the means of effecting a complete revolution in this respect. Collectors, Magistrates, and Judges received sufficient official remuneration, and they were forbidden to accept presents or to interfere with trade. It had hitherto been the custom for persons in high authority in England to send out to India needy relatives or dependents, expecting that they should be provided with suitable and lucrative appointments. Lord Cornwallis set his face resolutely against this evil practice. The Queen's Chamberlain, himself an English nobleman, sent out a certain gentleman recommended by the Queen herself. "This has greatly distressed me;" Lord Cornwallis wrote to a friend, "but I have too much at stake. I cannot desert the only system that can save this country even for her sacred Majesty." A short time afterwards he wrote regarding this gentleman: "I told you how Lord Ailesbury had distressed me by sending him out. He is now writing in the Secretary's office for Rs. 200 or Rs. 250 a month, and I do not see the probability of my being able

to give him anything better without deserving to be impeached. I am still persecuted every day by people coming out with letters to me, who either get into jail or starve in the foreign settlements." Thus setting his face as a flint against every thing unworthy, it can easily be imagined that at first Lord Cornwallis became very unpopular; but this soon past away, and, as the tone of English society grew healthier, he became universally respected, and, a much more difficult thing, really liked. It will be well to give here the words of Mr. Shore, with whom he was most intimately associated, and who had every means of judging: "I live upon the happiest terms with Lord Cornwallis," he wrote soon after their arrival; "I love and esteem his character. The honesty of his principles is inflexible; he is manly, affable, and good-natured; and of an excellent judgment. His health is sound, for he has not had an hour's indisposition since first I saw him. If the state of affairs will allow him to be popular, no Governor would ever enjoy a greater share of popularity. Natives and Europeans universally exclaim that Lord Cornwallis' arrival has saved the country." A few months later, writing to Warren Hastings, he says, "The respect, esteem, and regard which I have for him might subject my opinion of his government to a suspicion of partiality. Yet I cannot avoid mentioning that it has acquired the character of vigour, consistency, and dignity. The system of patronage which you so justly reprobated, and which you always found so grievous a tax, has been entirely subverted... His situation was uncomfortable on our arrival; he now receives the respect due to his zeal, integrity, and indefatigable application." No one knew better the state and feeling of Calcutta society than Mr. Shore, who had resided there for a long period, including the whole of Warren Hastings' administration.

With the regular and upright life of Lord Cornwallis as an example always before it, the tone of English society in the capital decidedly improved. The sad sins of drunkenness, irregular living, and gambling sensibly decreased: certainly they did so in their outward manifestation.

While most hospitable and regal in his public entertainments, he was most quiet and unostentatious in his private habits, and regular in his official duties. He arrived during the worst season of the year, and evidently felt the heat and sultry oppressiveness of the air very much. He wrote to his dear son, Lord Brome, in one of the letters in which he relieved the affectionate feelings of his heart, that he was contented to broil at Calcutta, if only he heard that he was well and happy. The tradition is that he used, when he drove for pleasure, to go out in a buggy, or, as in some verses by a late Bengal Civilian,

“ In a one-horse-chay,
My Lord Cornwallis drove about; alack and well-a-day.”

But he generally rode on horseback, accompanied by his trusted friend and military secretary, Colonel Ross, and usually went out twice a day. Writing to his son he gives the following brief sketch of his daily life, which, he said, was perfect clock-work, meaning that each day was just like its predecessor, and that the same employments occurred with dull regularity:—“ I get on horseback just as the dawn of day begins to appear, ride on the same road and the same distance, pass the whole forenoon after my return from riding in doing business, and almost the same exactly before sunset, then write and read over letters or papers of business for two hours, sit down at nine, with two or three officers of my family, to some fruit and a biscuit, and go to bed soon after the clock strikes ten.” He then adds the remark that no hard-working boy at his son’s school could lead a duller life than this.

In August 1787, nearly a year after his arrival, Lord Cornwallis thought it his duty to visit the Company’s stations and other places in the interior. Travelling in those days was very different to what, owing to railways, it is in these. Travellers had to go slowly and quietly up the river Ganges in boats to reach the places accessible from that stream, and to march, or to journey by palanquin to localities more remote. The Governor-General was about a month reaching Benares, and then proceeded to

Fatehgarh, Cawnpore, and Allahabad. Being Commander-in-chief as well as Governor-General, he kept his eyes open to the state and efficiency of the army, and the estimate he formed of the qualities of the sepoy army was very high ; but he was by no means satisfied with the tone or the soldierly qualities of the Company's European regiments, and he recommended that a better class of men should be recruited in England. Lord Cornwallis extended his tour to Oudh, being very dissatisfied with the affairs of that province, with the embarrassment occasioned to the Nawab Vizier by European adventurers, and with the relations between that sovereign and the East India Company. When at Lucknow, he wrote how much he was concerned to be a witness to the disordered state of the finances and Government of that country and of its desolate appearance. "The evils were too alarming to admit of palliation, and I thought it my duty to exhort the Nawab in the most friendly manner to endeavour to apply effectual remedies to them." The affairs of Oudh were, in fact, culminating towards that pitiable point that required the direct interference which his successor was obliged to enforce. He returned to Calcutta in December. He was so fortunate in wind and weather, he said, that he completed his expedition, during which, by land and water, he had travelled more than two thousand two hundred miles in less than four months, without omitting any material object of his tour.

The next two years were spent in hard and unremitting work in the trying climate of Calcutta. The labour which chiefly pressed on his mind was the preparation of the measure known as the Zemindari Settlement, by which his administration has principally been rendered famous. Since the East India Company had "stood forth as Dewan," the necessity for a thorough and business-like system for the collection of the revenue had been apparent. It had incessantly occupied the attention of the ablest civil officials of the Government, and it had forced itself into prominence in the counsels of the Court of Directors. Vigorous attempts in this direction had been made by Warren

Hastings and his compeers, which were frustrated by the dissensions at the Council Board. The Court of Directors were now determined that the matter should have the careful investigation it deserved, and that nothing should be permitted to hinder its completion. It has been stated by Mr. Mill, a peculiarly prejudiced historian, that, "full of the aristocratical ideas of Modern Europe, the aristocratical person now at the head of the Government," namely, Lord Cornwallis, the subject of the present memoir, "Avowed his attention of establishing an aristocracy upon the European model." It has been clearly proved that nothing could have been further removed from the fact than this rash and uncharitable assertion. When he left the shores of England, Lord Cornwallis knew as much about the Zemindari tenure of land as about the cultivation of paddy. He left with the fixed determination to do what was right on this and on every other subject: but with no other fixed determination, for he was a man of singularly calm and deliberate judgment. The scheme was, in fact, not his alone; but was the conclusion come to by the most experienced revenue officers of Bengal, it received the mature consideration of the Court of Directors, and was not sanctioned by them and by the Board of Control until some time after it had obtained Lord Cornwallis's approval. In April, 1786, the month he quitted England, the Court issued instructions to the Governor-General-in-Council to consider this great subject. They were dissatisfied with former attempts at settlement, and at the former annual arrangements. "A moderate assessment," they wrote, "regularly and punctually collected, unites the considerations of our interests with the happiness of the people, and security of the landholders, more rationally than any imperfect collection of an exaggerated assessment to be enforced with severity and vexation." They particularly stated their desire that each contract should be made with the Zemindar himself, so that "the humane intention of the legislature towards the native landholder should be strictly fulfilled." These were Lord Cornwallis's instructions before he left

England. One of the best revenue officers, Mr. Shore, was appointed to co-operate with him, and was his companion on board ship. On reaching Calcutta every available information was solicited, and, meanwhile, the old annual leases were continued. Report after report, letter on letter, were sent by the most experienced Collectors, notably one by Mr. Law, Collector of Behar, to the Council of Revenue, of which Mr. Shore, as senior member of Council, was President. The evidence in favour of making a settlement with the Zemindars direct was so overwhelming that his final report, dated June 18, 1789, strongly recommended that it should be adopted. The only point on which the Governor-General and he differed was as to whether the settlement thus made should be for a limited period of ten years in the first instance, or whether it should be permanent. Mr. Shore preferred the former plan in order that the new system might be carefully tested; but Lord Cornwallis overruled him on this point, and recommended that the settlement should be permanent from the very commencement of the scheme. The final sanction of the Court of Directors was not given for three years; but, on March 22, 1793, the final proclamation was issued establishing the Zemindari settlement, which has, ever since, been the settlement of Lower Bengal, and has been irrevocably associated with the great name of Lord Cornwallis. Such is a brief history of the passing of this important and famous measure. It does not fall within the scope of this brief sketch to compare the Zemindari system of Bengal with the other revenue systems of India; but it will be well to give the testimony of an independent, and, at one time, a rather prejudiced witness, as to its beneficent and satisfactory results. "We have," wrote Captain, afterwards Sir John Malcolm, the distinguished administrator and writer on Indian affairs, "we have just passed through one of the finest and most highly cultivated tracts of country in the world. What adds to my pleasure in contemplating these scenes, is to hear every man I ask tell me how jungles have been cleared, and waste lands brought under cultivation. I confess, before I travelled

through these provinces, I was not perfectly reconciled to this system. I have now observed its effects, and must ever think it one of the most wise and benevolent plans that ever was conceived by a Government to render its subjects rich and comfortable."

The introduction of the Zemindari system was the principal domestic measure that distinguished Lord Cornwallis's administration; the invasion of Mysore was the chief military one. He had left England with the strictest injunctions to use his utmost endeavours to maintain peace. His constant aim was to carry this policy of peace into effect; but Tippu Sultan, the hereditary enemy of England, was bent on renewing hostilities. He went only attacked the Maharajah of Travancore, who was an ally of the English Government, and that Government was in honour bound to defend and assist him. The Government of Madras was then in weak and incompetent hands. No adequate preparations for war had been made, and Lord Cornwallis was about to proceed thither, and take the chief command himself, when General Medows was appointed Governor and Commander-in-chief of that Presidency, and for a time, he abandoned this design. General Medows, however, though a brave and chivalrous officer, proved himself to be an incompetent commander, and the early part of the campaign was desultory and inconclusive. The Governor-General was then compelled to carry into effect his original plan. He reached Madras on December 12, 1790, and at once took the command with his own vigorous hands, and carried the war straight into the heart of the enemy's country. The first point aimed at was Bangalore. On March 5, he invested that town. In two days the pettah surrounding it was carried. On the 20th the fort was carried by assault, and Tippu withdrew to Seringapatam, his capital. The advance thither was delayed by a junction with the forces of the Nizam, and it was not till May 20 that the army came in sight of the minarets and forts of that famous citadel. But just as victory seemed within grasp, the English army, owing to insufficient supplies and siege appliances, was obliged to

retire, after having beaten the enemy in the open field. By the middle of June, the army was again at Bangalore. While there, it was considerably reinforced. Siege trains and every preparation for attack was made, and several of the fine hill-forts in the neighbourhood, such as Nandidroog and Savandroog were taken, and Lord Cornwallis, whose spirits had drooped during the retreat, gained heart again. By the 5th of February, 1792, the English army was once more in sight of Seringapatam, and burning to avenge the cruelties and indignities to which Tippu had subjected his prisoners. A night assault was made on Tippu's camp, which lay between the advancing army and the fort, Lord Cornwallis himself commanding the centre division, and he was slightly wounded on the occasion. Defeated under the very walls of his capital, Tippu retired into the fort; but he lost heart, and was induced by his officers to enter into negotiations for peace. After considerable delay owing to the extreme reluctance of Sultan to accede to the Governor-General's terms, a treaty was signed. The terms were the cession of half his territories, and the payment of a large indemnity, two of his sons being surrendered as hostages. The ceded territory was shared with the half-hearted allies, the Mahrattas and the Nizam, and Coorg was restored to its rightful Hindu raja. The two young princes, aged eight and ten, were received by the kind-hearted Governor-General not only with regal magnificence, but with truly paternal affection. The scene of their reception was made the subject of an admirable painting, which was afterwards engraved. Lord Cornwallis scrupulously fulfilled his promise to treat them with care and attention, and, as Colonel Wilks remarked, the transfer of these youths to the fatherly protection of the Governor-General, as implored by the Sultan's Vakeel in Eastern hyperbole, "ceased to be merely an oriental image, if determined by the test of paternal attentions." Some have expressed the doubt whether Lord Cornwallis was wise in according to Tippu such comparatively light terms, and, on looking back to that time with the knowledge of all the subsequent marvellous events of Indian history, it is easy to make such

an assertion ; but the Governor-General's policy must be studied in the light of the situation then occupied, and, thus regarded, it can scarcely be condemned. The feeling of the Court of Directors and of the English ministry of that day was strongly in favour of peace. There was no well-founded and carefully considered plan for English dominion in India, and the external safety and internal administration were the first objects of Lord Cornwallis's Indian policy. It was thoroughly approved by the English Government. The king created him a Marquis, being a step higher in the peerage than he possessed, and Mr. Pitt, then Prime Minister, offered him a seat in the Cabinet on his return to England, which he declined on the plea of his deficiency in oratorical power, which he considered essential to the occupancy of such an influential post.

On the conclusion of peace Lord Cornwallis returned to Calcutta, and resumed the quieter duties of home administration. He was not only deeply interested in the introduction of the new Permanent Settlement of the revenue ; but, with the assistance of such able advisers as Mr. afterwards Sir George, Barlow, he was busily engaged in preparing a set of Judicial and Civil Regulations, which were promulgated in the year 1793. These Regulations were the laws by which British India was governed until the production of the more elaborate codes of modern times. These Regulations bear the marks of careful thought, and were most admirably adapted to the condition of Hindu society and of English rule. "The change thus effected," Sir George Barlow considered, "did not consist in alterations in the ancient customs and usages of the country affecting the rights of person and property. It related chiefly to the giving security to those rights by affording to our native subjects the means of obtaining redress against any infringement of them, either by the Government itself, its officers, or individuals of any description." Sir William Jones awarded to these Regulations the highest praise, and another eminent lawyer said that they would do credit to any legislation of ancient or modern times. They were in full force for more than

seventy years, and they should be compared with the attempts at legislation that preceded them rather than with the present Codes, which are the product of some of the acutest minds of the nineteenth century.

Lord Cornwallis gave over charge of the Government to his successor, Sir John Shore, who, a few months previously, had come again from England for this purpose, on August 17, 1793, but he did not leave India till October 10, when he embarked at Madras on board the same vessel which had brought him out seven years before. He reached England on the 3rd of February following. The success of his administration in India had so impressed the English ministry that they were most anxious to employ in the public service one who had shown himself so upright, moderate, and judicious. He had looked forward to a season of retirement and repose ; but was ready, at the call of duty, to place his services at the disposal of his king and country whenever and wherever they were needed. He had scarcely been three months in his native land, when he was sent to Flanders to carry on a delicate negotiation with the Emperor of Austria at Brussels, where the armies of England, Austria, and Prussia were acting in alliance against France. At the beginning of 1795 he was appointed Master General of the Ordnance and a Cabinet Minister. It was a busy office in a time of war and excitement ; but he found sufficient leisure to think and write about Indian affairs. In a short time, a threatened mutiny among the officers of the Bengal army occasioned great anxiety in England ; and it was thought advisable to send out at once an officer of experience to allay the excitement in Bengal, and to use his authority and influence to put matters on a more satisfactory footing. The authorities in England very naturally turned to one in whom they had so much confidence and who had gained such recent experience as Lord Cornwallis, and he was appointed to proceed to India once more as Governor-General on this important mission. The necessity for this course happily passed away. Lord Cornwallis thankfully withdrew, and Lord Mornington, afterwards Lord Wellesley, was appointed

Governor-General, a young and powerful statesman in whose capacity he had every reason to believe.

The three years from 1798 to 1801 were spent in a more trying and arduous position than even that of Governor-General of India. Ireland was in a state of rebellion, and it was necessary to place at the head of affairs there some well-trying, firm, but conciliatory administrator. The English ministry decided to request Lord Cornwallis to go to Dublin. With extreme reluctance he responded to the call, because he considered the call of duty, and he was appointed Viceroy of Ireland. This was an office in which it was impossible to anticipate any increase to his well established reputation, though it might reasonably be expected that his honour would suffer no eclipse. He was immediately exposed to a cross-fire of criticism from two opposite quarters. There was the wild Irish party on the one side, and the strong and highly irritated section of the British party on the other; but it is not too much to affirm that the Marquis Cornwallis bore himself in his exalted but irksome position with even-handed impartiality. A desultory French invasion of Ireland was defeated; the Irish rebellion was suppressed; and the Act of Union was effected during the eventful months that he held the viceregal reins. His influence prevented the rebellion being treated as a religious war between the Roman Catholics and Protestants, and his urbanity and firmness smoothed the way for the legislative union. The Parliament in Dublin was abolished, and the full legislative authority was placed in the hands of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster, where it has since been retained. All this was done, not without difficulty and friction, but with a little as the circumstances permitted under the wise and conciliatory guidance of the Viceroy. To himself personally it was a time of great anxiety and tension. "The life of a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland," he wrote to a friend, "comes up to my idea of perfect misery. Of all the situations which I ever held, the present is by far the most intolerable to me, and I have often wished myself back in Bengal." This was no figure

of speech. He kept up his interest in India, and his correspondence with friends in Calcutta. The sense of doing good service for his country sustained him during this trying period, and he thus expressed his joy at laying down this irksome employment: "The joy that I feel at being released will be greatly alloyed by my apprehension that I am leaving a people who love me and whose happiness I had so nearly secured."

On May 25, 1801, he laid aside this appointment of anxiety, worry and toil. It was a time of intense peril and apprehension when he returned to England. A French invasion was expected. The whole country was in a fever of preparation and defence. It was no time for retirement and relaxation such as he had been looking forward to. Every man was required to do his duty. Lord Cornwallis did not shrink from his. He was appointed to command the Eastern Division of the army. But there was no invasion. Napoleon Buonaparte, the First Consul of France, was then inclined for peace with England, and the Marquis Cornwallis was chosen by the English Government as the fittest man to conduct the negotiations on behalf of England. A more acute and subtle diplomatist might have been selected; but not a more honest and determined one. The negotiations required the exercise of all his firmness. He had two interviews with Napoleon himself, but was ultimately referred to the great man's brother Joseph, who was then at Amiens. Here, after the negotiations had been protracted for four months, the treaty of Amiens was signed on March 27, 1802. Lord Cornwallis described it as ensuring "a peace that will not dishonour the country and that will afford as reasonable a prospect of future safety as the present very extraordinary circumstances of Europe will permit." It may be added that the peace consequent on this treaty lasted scarcely fourteen months. This was not attributable to the weakness of the English plenipotentiary or to the inefficiency of his diplomacy, but to the restless ambition of Napoleon.

The next year or so was spent by Lord Cornwallis in comparative retirement and in the enjoyment of the usual

pursuits of an English gentleman living in the country, and occasionally visiting the great metropolis ; but he was soon to turn his steps once more to the scene of his former toils and triumphs. The Court of Directors were most uneasy by reason of the aggressive and vigorous policy of Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General, and of the financial difficulties into which that policy had brought the Government of India. The King's ministers agreed with them that a statesman of known ability and of moderation should be sent out for the purpose of negotiating peace and of placing the finances of the country on a more satisfactory basis. They again turned to Lord Cornwallis. Like an old war-horse, he immediately responded to the clarion call of duty. He was gratified at being summoned to perform one more piece of service for his country. So far as health was concerned, it was a very hazardous venture for a man to return to India at his age. He was then sixty-six, and his health was not particularly good even in his native land ; but it seemed to him right to go, and so he went. He assumed charge of the Government at Calcutta on July 30, 1805. He found that there was still war against Holkar, and, as he said, it could hardly be asserted that there was peace between the Government and Sindhia. So he resolved, soon after his arrival, to proceed up-country with the object of securing peace by negotiation and of effecting this without loss of national honour. He was, however, himself unable to carry out this policy. This was left to his immediate successor. His enfeebled frame was too weak to bear this fresh experience of the enervating climate of India. He proceeded with his suite up the Ganges, but, when he reached Ghazipore, he was carried from his boat to a house at that station, and there, on October 5, he died. The brave spirit and clear mind held sway over him almost to the very end, for he dictated despatches up to a few hours of his death with his old power of definiteness and decision. Even though Lord Wellesley's officers and lieutenants were chafing under the reversal of his policy, they could not refrain from admiring the veteran statesman, who was dying in the discharge of the duty laid upon him.

"You have been witness," wrote Captain Malcolm, one of the most eminent of them, to Mr. George Edmonstone, who was the Secretary in attendance, "to a most extraordinary and impressive scene, the close of the life of a great and good man, who has continued to the last to devote himself to his country. Few have lived with such honour; no one ever died with more glory."

Thus died at his post, in the faithful discharge of his duty, one who had for many years been an active servant of his king and country. His private character was most estimable. He was one of the most affectionate of men, and, if it had not pleased God to take from him in early life the companion whom he tenderly loved, he would have delighted in all the pleasures and endearments of domestic happiness; and, as it was, his letters to his children, which appear in the published collection of his despatches, enliven the dulness of his official correspondence. He was a faithful and consistent friend. Some may think that he was too cautious in his official policy in India; but it must always be borne in mind that the authorities in England did not desire the extension of their Indian territory, and continually urged on him and others in power in India the stringent necessity of a policy of economy and peace, which required the genius of a Warren Hastings or a Wellesley to infringe. Lord Cornwallis was a transparently honest character. His abilities were of a very high order. He had not, however, the brilliant capacity of some other Indian statesmen whom it would be easy to name, but with whom it is scarcely fair to compare him. He acquired, besides his Indian, a European, reputation; but, in our opinion, his chief merit consisted in his having been the means of raising the tone of English society in Calcutta, in having sincerely laboured for the welfare of the agricultural community of Bengal, and in having made the first forward step in consolidating the civil and criminal law.



SIR JOHN SHORE :
AFTERWARDS,
LORD TEIGNMOUTH.

III.—SIR JOHN SHORE,

AFTERWARDS

LORD TEIGNMOUTH.

A.D. 1751—1834 A.D.

“ There is no terror, Cassius, in your threats ;
 For I am arm'd so strong in honesty,
 That they pass by me as the idle Wind,
 Which I respect not.”

Shakespeare.

JOHN SHORE, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, who succeeded Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General, was born on October 8, 1751. His father died while he was yet a child, and he was left solely to the charge of his mother, to whom he owed his early influences for good, and to whom he was most tenderly attached. During his first years in India he corresponded with her regularly, writing to her long journal-letters; and it was very much to her loving exhortations that he kept himself unsullied and pure amidst the evil example that surrounded him. Having received a writership in the East India Company's service, he landed at Calcutta in May, 1769. This was only twelve years after the battle of Plassey, by which the sovereignty of Bengal had past into the hands of England. Just four years previously the Great Mogul had made to the English a grant of the revenues of the three great provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar; but the collection of the revenue and the administration of justice had been left in the hands of the Nawab's former officials. There were certainly English officers answering somewhat to the present Collectors, who were called Supervisors; but the Company, perfectly unconscious of future domination and power, regarded their servants more as commercial than as political agents, permitted them to engage in trade, and gave those who were employed in revenue duties the most inadequate salaries.

The Calcutta in which Mr. Shore found himself on his arrival was as different from the Calcutta of the latter half of the present century as a mud hovel is from a stately marble palace. The houses in which the European officials resided were small and ill prepared against the fiery heat of Lower Bengal. Few had venetian blinds, and rattan tatties were used to exclude the wind or rain. The town was likewise most unhealthy and offensive from its insanitary condition. The state of society was as bad as the condition of the town. The restraints of religion and even of common morality were openly abandoned, and peculation and corruption in pecuniary matters reigned supreme. Mr. Shore was appointed to the Secret Political Department on his arrival. His pay, it may be remarked, was only 82 sicca rupees a month, while he had to pay nearly double that amount for house-rent. He at once began to exercise rigid economy and self-denial; and, rather than subject his mother to expense on his account, he denied himself every luxury, and even necessities, such as keeping a horse. He remained in the physically and morally polluting atmosphere of the Calcutta of those days for some sixteen months.

The Supervisors of revenue whom we mentioned above were placed under the control of two Councils—one at Moorshedabad for Bengal and the other at Patna for Behar. Mr. Shore was appointed Assistant Supervisor at the former place in September, 1770. He plunged at once into abundance of work. Practically most of the judicial and revenue business fell to his share, owing to the indolence of the chief of his department and to the absence of the second. He threw himself heartily into this work. As the court was some distance from his place of residence, he, now and then, in times of emergency, remained as much as two whole days trying cases. The greater part of the time he was at Moorshedabad he lived in a country house belonging to the Nawab, about four miles from the city. It was beautifully situated in the midst of a garden, where he enjoyed, as he wrote to his mother, “cooing doves, whistling black birds, and a purling stream”; but he felt much the comparative

solitude when there, and employed his leisure time in diligently studying Hindustani, Arabic, and Persian, not forgetting Bengali, the language of his district,—studies which were afterwards turned to good account in the promotion of Oriental learning. It may be mentioned here that he contracted a sincere friendship for the Munshi who taught him these languages, who subsequently offered to assist him by a loan when he was in difficulties, and whose children he helped, after their father's death, by using his services as an arbitrator in a family dispute.

Mr. Shore reached Moorshedabad before the end of the great famine of 1770, the memory of which never forsook him. This was caused by the failure of the monsoon, and not, as was ignorantly imagined at that time, by the monopolies of the English authorities, and Mr. Shore thought it worth his while to vindicate the latter from these calumnies. He was at this period brought into close intercourse with the people, and acquired an intimate acquaintance with their habits and feelings, as well as with the revenue system of the country, which did him good service hereafter and tended to his rapid promotion. He had also the advantage of a practical knowledge of Bengali farming, a farm being placed under his personal superintendence, a practice which was then permitted to the Company's servants, but very properly was afterwards prohibited. He was a very young man at this time, and it was most creditable to him to be enabled to record, as he did soon afterwards, that he was so well acquainted with the religious and judicial customs of the people that he never willingly infringed them in his decisions.

In 1772 a change was made by Mr. Warren Hastings in the revenue arrangements. A five years' lease was entered into with the Zemindars; and, at the same time, a change was made in the administration. The Supervisors were called Collectors, the Council of Moorshedabad was abolished, and its duties were transferred to a Council of Revenue at Calcutta. Mr. Shore was appointed First Assistant to the Resident of Rajshahi; but was speedily transferred to Calcutta to a seat on the Revenue Council there. He was

thus transplanted from the quiet, but busy, life upcountry to the stormy and turbulent soil of English society in the capital. The storms and commotions were incessant. There were dissensions in the Council Board in Government House, Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of Bengal, being opposed by the majority of his Council. Though Mr. Shore owed his appointment at Calcutta to the opponents of the Governor-General, he endeavoured to keep himself aloof from these unworthy party squabbles, and was tolerably successful. Ill health drove him for a season to Madras and Pondicherry; but he soon returned in invigorated health to the depressing climate and the unseemly contentions of Calcutta. His absence on the coast prevented him from losing his appointment, all the other members of the Board having been dismissed owing to the peculations and mismanagement of their Dewan. During the next few years Mr. Shore still kept himself free from party strife; and very few could say, as he was able to say, that, while political feeling ran high, he had kept himself upon good terms with one party without making himself offensive to the other. He expressed himself at that time as generally unfavourable to Mr. Hastings' views and actions; but he subsequently became his firm and consistent friend. When, in 1786, Mr. Hastings, with the object of setting the collection of revenue on a more satisfactory basis, abolished the Provincial Councils and the Revenue Council at Calcutta, and created a new Board of Revenue, he appointed Mr. Shore the second member of it. Mr. Anderson, the gentleman whom he had selected for the first place, had recommended Mr. Shore, and when Warren Hastings expressed his astonishment, as he had hitherto regarded Mr. Shore as his personal enemy, Mr. Anderson quietly said:—"Appoint Mr. Shore; and in six weeks you and he will have formed a friendship." This prediction was entirely fulfilled.

For the next five years Mr. Shore was busily occupied in his new post. Owing to the frequent absence of the first member, he generally presided, and he worked in complete harmony with the Governor-General. In fact,

Mr. Francis, the great antagonist of Warren Hastings, having left Calcutta, comparative tranquillity, prevailed in English society there. On one occasion Mr. Shore was commissioned to settle the revenue in the extensive provinces of Dacca and Patna, and, when he waited on Warren Hastings to receive his final instructions, they were given in the following most characteristic sentence:—
“You know your business, Shore; and good luck to you.”

Those were days when corruption, even among English officials, was rife, and Mr. Shore himself afterwards alluded to the opportunities he might then have employed to acquire ill-gotten wealth, in these words:—“I have long held a situation where, if I had been half the knave everyone is supposed by the patriots of England to be, I might have secured £40,000 or £50,000 per annum for the last four years. Believe me, I have never repented I have not done it; and am more happy in the savings of my salary, which is avowed, than I should be in ten times the amount acquired by means I dare not avow.” At first, as already mentioned, his salary had been very small; but he had now the pleasure to be in such a position as to offer assistance to the mother whom he so dearly loved. Soon afterwards he experienced the poignant sorrow of hearing of her death. His health had been at this time seriously shattered by the loss of his friend and cousin, Mr. Augustus Cleveland, whose memory as the benefactor of the Sonthal people is still green; and this additional calamity completely broke it down. He embarked for England early in 1785, being a fellow-passenger of Warren Hastings, whose companionship he much valued.

Mr. Shore reached his native land in June 1785, feeling very naturally in low spirits, for he had looked forward with pleasurable anticipation to see his mother once more, and she was no longer alive to greet him, and he had parted from his only brother, when merely a child, so he scarcely knew him. On a visit to this brother, however, who was now a clergyman in the country of Devon, he met a young lady, named Cornish, to whom he became much attached. They were united in the following February, and, for nearly

half a century, lived together in the happy married state. He had hoped to give up the Indian service and to remain in England ; but, within a fortnight after his marriage, he was summoned by the call of duty to return to the country where he had been of so much use, and where he had set so clear an example of good. Eighteen months previously Mr. Pitt, the Prime Minister of England, had brought in a Bill for the better management of the East India Company's territories, which had passed through Parliament and become law. The principal provisions were the creation of a Board, called the Board of Control, by which Indian affairs came under the cognizance of the Crown, and the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras were placed under the Government of Bengal, especially in matters connected with treaties with the Native States. Earl Cornwallis, a judicious and experienced statesman, was appointed Governor-General, and the Court of Directors, anxious that he should be associated with an able man well acquainted with the country and with the system, or rather the want of system, in revenue affairs, selected Mr. Shore for a seat in Council. Mr. Shore, much against his will, consented from a strong sense of duty ; but, dreading the climate of Bengal for his wife, he left her behind. Lord Cornwallis and he went in the same ship, and contracted a strong friendship for each other. The subject of our sketch thus quitted England a few months only after his arrival, and, if possible, in a worse state of depression. Early separated from his wife, he kept up, during the whole of his absence from her, a kind of journal-correspondence, in which he recorded for her some of his deepest and tenderest thoughts.

The ship *Swallow*, on board which Lord Cornwallis and Mr. Shore were passengers, reached Calcutta in October, 1786. All classes of the community were pleased to welcome back Mr. Shore. His former servants returned to him, and he was soon once more in the full swing of official work. This did him good. He keenly felt the separation from his wife, and employment diverted his attention from his loneliness. For the first few weeks he was

sent to Moorshedabad with the object of putting in order the affairs of the Nawab of Bengal. In the following January he took his seat in Council. Lord Cornwallis and he worked together most harmoniously. Each had a great respect for the other. Lord Cornwallis's calm views and sound judgment had very much impressed Mr. Shore, who wrote, "I esteem, respect, and love him," while Mr. Shore's long experience and intimate knowledge of Indian men and matters were of great service to the Governor-General, especially with regard to revenue affairs. They found matters in Bengal in anything but a satisfactory state. There was much corruption even among officials, and it was the mission of Lord Cornwallis to set this straight. Patronage was abolished; the large official establishments were reduced; the salaries of high officials were fixed on a scale sufficient to remove them from temptation; and the duties of the various departments of the State were more clearly defined.

But the principal subject which occupied the attention of the Government was the revenue. Ever since the East India Company had taken over the administration of the country, or, in the language of the day had stood forth as Dewan, this had been in a most unsatisfactory state. The chief burden of reform fell on Mr. Shore. As the Senior Member of Council and President of the Revenue Board, all the reports from the district officers came to him, and the duty of preparing a scheme for a settlement of revenue for ten years devolved upon him. He laboured at it, as he himself expressed it, "like a galley slave," and, as he remarked to a correspondent in England with a little touch of pardonable pride, "if pains, zeal, and assiduity could accomplish the object proposed in it, no part could be incomplete." The majority of the most experienced revenue officers in Bengal advocated the plan of the Government dealing directly with the Zemindars themselves instead of with the cultivators of the soil, and they were desirous of seeing such a settlement made permanent. It was no hasty or slightly considered scheme of Lord Cornwallis himself. It had been brought to his notice and commended to his at-

tention by the Court of Directors before he sailed for India; it was most carefully discussed in the Council Chamber at Calcutta; the opinion of all the revenue officials was obtained; it received the approval of such a distinguished administrator as Mr. Shore; and was not carried into effect until it had fully received the sanction of the Court of Directors. In fact, whatever opinion may be entertained regarding the Zemindari system of the collection of revenue, no one can truthfully assert that it was adopted with undue haste. Mr. Shore's views on the subject were contained in a long and careful minute, which Lord Cornwallis valued highly; but, of course, even a brief abstract of it cannot here be given. As we have given, however, the estimate of Lord Cornwallis's character, which Mr. Shore had formed, it is only right that we should here quote a single sentence from the Governor-General's own recorded minute, showing how highly he valued Mr. Shore:—"The great ability displayed in Mr. Shore's minute which introduced the propositions for the Settlement—the uncommon knowledge which he has manifested of every part of the Revenue system of this country—the liberality and fairness of his arguments, and clearness of his style give me an opportunity, (which my personal esteem and regard for him, and the obligation I owe him as a public man for his powerful assistance in every branch of the business of this Government, must ever render peculiarly gratifying to me) of recording my highest respect for his talents, my warmest sense of his public-spirited principles, which, in an impaired state of health, could alone have supported him in executing a work of such extraordinary labour." Mr. Shore's scheme was for a settlement to last for ten years only, and he considered that the proposition to make it permanent was premature; but the Governor-General, though ready to listen courteously to his arguments, recommended that the settlement should be a perpetual one, and the Court of Directors, with the concurrence of the ministers of the king, after mature consideration, decided that such should be the case. In 1793 a proclamation was issued making the Permanent Zemindari Settlement law. All that we feel

called upon to say here on this important question is that the object aimed at in this settlement by Lord Cornwallis, by Mr. Shore, and by the Court of Directors was the good of the people and the ensuring to them a light and easy assessment.

Mr. Shore during this period led a very quiet and regular life. He was never able to sleep more than two or three hours at a time, and therefore he rose early and took a long ride. He breakfasted at eight, and occupied himself with official business till his dinner hour at three. In the evening he walked out, and spent the remainder of the time till ten in the company of his friends. He was in a very bad state of health, and had frequently to spur himself to exertion so as to get through his ordinary business. He had, however, no prejudice against the climate of Bengal, although it disagreed with his constitution. He described the town of Calcutta as far better cared for and the houses better built, than when he first arrived there, and the European society as considerably improved. His leisure time was employed in writing poetry and in Oriental studies. His poem on the death of his relative and friend Cleveland has formed almost the only memorial to that devoted man, and his friendship for Sir William Jones, the great Oriental scholar, testifies to his appreciation of Oriental literature, in which he was himself no mean proficient.

Mr. Shore quitted Calcutta for England directly his labours on the Revenue Settlement were completed. He left in December 1789, and had the pleasure of joining Mrs. Shore and his little daughter, who was born soon after he went out, on April 25, 1790. His health improved on his return to his native land, and, as he expressed it, he gained a new stock of spirits by reunion with those he loved. He took a house for a year at the village of Egham in Surrey above 12 miles from London, and lived in perfect retirement, finding more happiness in his own home than out of doors. He gave evidence at the historical trial of Warren Hastings, but this at first seems to be his only public act. He positively revelled in

the rest he was enjoying. "I am indeed a most perfectly idle man," he wrote to a friend; "and as happy as any one in England, with nothing to do. The day is never too long; on the contrary, I often find it too short." When the year was over, he went to Bath, in the West of England, and enjoyed a picturesque tour through Devonshire and Cornwall.

The call of duty roused him once more from his retirement. In September, 1792, while still happy in literary and domestic employments, he received the offer of the succession to the Governor-Generalship on the retirement of Lord Cornwallis. He at first declined the flattering offer, principally because he did not wish to part again from Mrs. Shore, who, he thought, ought not to accompany him; but he was persuaded to reconsider his decision, and, soon after he had accepted this exalted position, he was created a baronet. An objection was made to his appointment by Mr. Burke, the celebrated orator and opponent of Warren Hastings, on account of the evidence he had given in favour of that much maligned statesman. This objection, however, gave the Chairman of the Court of Directors the opportunity of recording his conviction that Sir John Shore had proved himself one of the ablest and most upright servants of the East India Company. Deeply and keenly feeling the separation from his family, the new Governor-General embarked at Falmouth in October 1792, and reached Calcutta on March 10, 1793, after rather a tedious voyage owing to continued calms.

Sir John Shore was heartily welcomed on his return to Calcutta by all his old friends, and by none more than Sir William Jones, with whom he was most intimate. His position at first was rather trying, because Lord Cornwallis continued Governor-General seven months after his arrival, and not having been appointed to a seat in Council, he was obliged to live in retirement without any official standing or work. With his usual sweetness and humility he expressed himself quite contented to occupy this subordinate position as giving him the opportunity of acquiring the most accurate information on the affairs of every

department in the state, without giving such incessant application to this work as would have been indispensable if he had succeeded to power at once ; and he has recorded the fact that he continued to work with Lord Cornwallis with all his former harmony and cordiality. Just before he entered on the arduous duties of his new office, he received the sad tidings of the death of two little daughters, which affected him intensely, but which he bore with the calm resignation of an assured Christian.

Sir John Shore assumed the Government of Bengal on October 28, 1793. He entered on this responsible office in a spirit of thoughtfulness and devoutness. There is recorded, though evidently not written for the public eye, a petition on that date, in which he especially asks for grace and strength that he might perform these important duties in a right spirit, "promoting the happiness of Thy creatures," he adds, "not only by my public actions, but by my example. And grant that, under my government, religion and morality may be advanced." Before giving a brief account of his Government it will be convenient to mention here that Lady Shore and their surviving daughter joined him in December, 1794, and it was a source of great pleasure for them thus to be re-united.

The administration of Sir John Shore was that of a candid, sincere, and thoroughly conscientious man ; but we cannot help feeling, while reading his own correspondence, that he felt himself unequal to the task which had been entrusted to him. Scrupulously desirous of adhering to treaties, his hand failed in firmness, and he lacked the strong grasp of his predecessor and of his successor. Calm and courageous as he proved himself in the moment of imminent peril, his policy so evidently bore the marks of timidity and vacillation that it emboldened the enemies of England, like Tippoo Sultan, and discouraged those who would have been her allies, like the Nizam. It is right, however, to bear in mind that the policy of peace was always enforced and insisted on by the authorities in Leadenhall Street. Soon after Sir John Shore had taken up the reins of authority, complications occurred between

the three great powers in Southern India. After the conquest of Mysore in 1790, Lord Cornwallis had entered into a tripartite treaty with the Mahrattas and the Nizam, stipulating that, in the event of Tippoo attacking any one of the contracting parties, the others should combine in defence, if satisfied of the justice of the case. At this time the Mahrattas attacked the Nizam, and the latter appealed to the British Government for assistance. It was denied. The Governor-General was of opinion that his Government was not bound to assist one of the contracting powers against another, and not against Tippoo. The result was that the Mahrattas conquered the Nizam, and imposed upon him humiliating terms. The Nizam naturally resented this treatment, and turned to the French for assistance, preparing much complication and danger in the future. Sir John's policy in this matter was generally condemned, as tending to instil into the minds of the reigning sovereigns a doubt as to the good faith of the British Government. It is, however, only just to his memory to give his own ideas as to this subject. "In the moderation, justice, and good faith of our conduct," he wrote, "and in transactions with our allies and those who are dependent upon the Company for protection, the true principles of general precaution and counteraction must be found; and we adopt them no less from conviction than authority, as the wisest and safest, and indeed only true policy." He was fully persuaded that the course he adopted was just and right, and conducive to the preservation of peace.

Another question which caused the Governor-General intense anxiety was the condition of the army in Bengal. The European officers were in a condition bordering on mutiny. They were discontented with their position, their pay, and their relation to the officers of the King's army. Certain regulations on the matter were sent from England; but they were so inconsistent and so distasteful to the officers that the Government of Bengal did not issue them until some judicious modifications had been made in them. The proof of the wisdom of this course is in the fact that

no serious discontent has since been manifested among the officers of the Bengal army. Sir John Shore's own reflections on this trying event were thus expressed in a letter to his predecessor:—"I am not ashamed to confess to you that I am little qualified, by habit or experience, to contend with a discontented army."

The most memorable event of this time was connected with the kingdom of Oudh. The state of that unhappy country was lamentable in the extreme, and Sir John Shore proceeded thither in the hope of inducing the Nawab to introduce reforms for the benefit of the people. Some little good was effected by the Governor-General's visit by an upright minister, named Tufuzzil Hussein Khan, being appointed to conduct the affairs of the kingdom. In 1797 the Nawab, completely worn out by self-indulgence, died; and, with the sanction of the British Government, was succeeded by his reputed son, Vizier Ali, a man of violent temper and uncontrolled passions. Sir John Shore subsequently received such convincing proofs that Vizier Ali was not even the illegitimate son of the late Nawab, that he considered it his duty to go again to Lucknow, and make inquiries on the spot. He was attended by a sufficient military force. Convinced that the rightful successor to the throne was Sadut Ali, brother of the deceased sovereign, he made preparations for his instalment. It was a season of peculiar peril. Vizier Ali was surrounded by violent partisans, and the intricate city of Lucknow was filled with an excited populace and soldiery. The fire of a single shot would have commenced a disastrous conflict. The Governor-General was urged to have Vizier Ali arrested, but he firmly resisted this course. He was warned against threatened assassination. Still unmoved, he went on his way with quiet determination. He even attended a banquet given in his honour by Vizier Ali, who was surrounded by his armed followers. In the end Vizier Ali was peacefully deposed and banished to Benares. Sadut Ali was enthroned, and the transaction passed off without bloodshed or tumult. During the whole of this exciting time the Governor-General exhibited the highest

qualities of man, calmness, courage, and determination. The secret of this behaviour is to be found in the following passage from his journal :—" Under these circumstances I have frequently retired to a private room, praying to God to direct my judgment in forming a decision on the alternative which was before me without bias or partiality. The recollection of this afforded a consolation to me, which made me indifferent to censure or accusation." Thus withdrawing for a moment the curtain from his private life, we have revealed to us one of the most touching and beautiful pictures in the whole history of British India. The Governor-General alone on his knees in the quiet of his own room : the same man calm, resolute, unmoved in the midst of plots, treachery, and intrigue, doing just the right thing, when surrounded by danger. The verdict of India was—" The right had come to the rightful." The judgment of the Court of Directors was—" We are of opinion that the Governor-General, in a most arduous situation, conducted himself with great temper, ability, and firmness, so that he finished a long career of faithful service by planning and carrying into execution an arrangement which not only redounds highly to his honour, but which will also operate to the reciprocal advantage of the Company and the Nawab Vizier."

While at Lucknow, Sir John Shore received the news that the King of England had been pleased to create him a peer as Lord Teignmouth, and that the Earl of Mornington had been appointed his successor. Soon after his return to Calcutta he embarked for England on March 7, 1798. His Indian career over, an entirely new and different service was before him in his native land. At first he did not take a house and settle down, wishing for time to look about him a little and consider what locality would afford him a desirable place of abode. Eventually he selected Clapham, a suburb of London, then a quiet village, where he enjoyed the congenial society of his friends Mr. Charles Grant, William Wilberforce, and the Thorntons. He had abundance of occupation. He was a Justice of the Peace, a member of the Board of Control, an office which he held

for about thirty years, and for five years Vice-Lieutenant of the County of Surrey. He was closely connected with several religious and philanthropic Societies, and was beloved by the poor of the neighbourhood, to whom he and Lady Teignmouth showed the tenderest kindness. From 1808 until the time of his death he resided at Portman Square in London, occasionally visiting various places in the country.

The work, however, which was nearest his heart, and which occupied his chief thoughts and energies was the distribution and translation of the Holy Christian Scriptures. In 1804 a Society, called the British and Foreign Bible Society, was established, the object of which was the circulation of the Bible without note or comment, and Lord Teignmouth was its first President. He loved the Society and he delighted in its work. He called it "a new constellation sent by God to illuminate the darkness of the moral world." For thirty years he was the mainspring of its management and Committee; and, at his own request, the simple, but eloquent, memorial was placed on his tomb that he was First President of the Bible Society.

The evening of his life was beautifully clear and peaceful. It was broken only by various family events, such as some of his sons going to India, and the marriage or death of his children. The light of his Christian faith and love grew ever brighter as the end approached, and he fell asleep on the anniversary of his wedding day, February 14, 1834, at a ripe old age, his beloved wife following him six months afterwards. Some of his last words were:—"I loathe and detest every species and degree of sin as an offence committed against the majesty and holiness of God. I trust that I do indeed repent of all my transgressions. But I do not trust in my repentance. No! I look only to the blood of Jesus for pardon and for peace." On the Sunday before his death he said to his wife and children:—"I feel that I am resting on the right foundation; and I can now leave you all rejoicing."

The three chief points in the character of this good man are his straightforward honesty, his humility, and his

moral courage. "It has ever been a fixed maxim with me," he once wrote, "that honesty, in all transactions, is the best policy ; or, in other words, that nothing morally wrong can be politically right." From the time when, as a youth he lived on his pay, until when Governor-General, he could have acquired an enormous fortune by a slight deviation from the path of right and duty, he always kept this maxim in mind, and has left a reputation as unsullied and pure as an Englishman that ever went to India. His humility and modesty were conspicuous. He candidly confessed how much he felt the strain of the government while in power, and was quite ready to serve under his former revered chief, Lord Cornwallis, should the latter return. Yet, when a crisis came, he was perfectly ready to meet it with the cool courage it demanded. He was always calm and self-possessed whether in the centre of conspiracy at Lucknow, during a debate in the Committee of the Bible Society, or when giving evidence before the assembled House of Commons in England. In fact, few servants of the East India Company have left a sweeter memory and purer fame than John, first Lord Teignmouth, Governor-General of India, and first President of the Bible Society.



MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

IV.—THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY.

A.D. 1760 TO 1842.

“ He that would govern others, first should be
The master of himself, richly endued
With depth of understanding, height of knowledge.”

Massinger.

RICHARD COWLEY WELLESLEY, to whose clear, statesman-like genius, British India practically owes its being, was the eldest son of the Earl of Mornington, an Irish nobleman. One of his younger brothers was the illustrious Duke of Wellington. He was born on June 20, 1760, and was educated at Eton, the same famous school on the banks of the Thames, where Lord Cornwallis, his predecessor and successor in the high office of Governor-General, was also educated. Leaving that school when eighteen years of age, he went, with a reputation for brilliant scholarship, to Christ Church, a College in the celebrated University of Oxford. He did not remain there long enough to take his degree, because he was summoned, by the death of his father, in May, 1781, to take charge of his paternal estates in Ireland. Directly he became of age, he voluntarily undertook to pay all his father's debts, and showed his love to his mother by the graceful act of surrendering to her the actual management of his estates. He also took the greatest pains in the intellectual training of his brothers.

At that time Ireland had a separate Parliament, consisting of a House of Peers and a House of Commons. The young Earl of Mornington took his seat in the former; but it was not long before he sought a wider sphere for the ability which he was conscious of possessing, and he obtained a seat in the Imperial House of Commons at Westminster in May, 1784, as member for a small borough in the County of Devonshire. It is curious that his first speech there was on an Indian subject, and in favour of the recall of Warren Hastings. His utterances

in Parliament brought him into notice, and, in 1786, he received the appointment of junior Lord of the Treasury. The speech which brought him most prominently into fame was on the prosecution of the war with Revolutionary France, which was, at the time, much admired, more for its finished oratory than for its power of reasoning. His promotion was rapid. On June 21, 1793, he received the honour of being made a Privy Councillor and a member of the Board of Control. In this office he had abundant opportunities of making himself acquainted with Indian affairs. He seems fully to have availed himself of these opportunities, and to have gained a thorough grasp of the whole subject of the English position in India as well as of Indian history and politics in general. This admirable training fitted him for the position which, at the end of four years, he was called upon to occupy. Sir John Shore's period of service as Governor-General was drawing to a close, and Mr. Pitt offered the appointment, which it was just at that juncture most necessary to place in firm and capable hands, to Lord Mornington.

It is here necessary to go back a little in Lord Mornington's life. On November 29, 1794, he married a beautiful and accomplished French lady, with whom, contrary to the command of God, he had previously lived for nine years; but their union was not happy. He thought it advisable not to take her to India, and they did not remain together long after his return. The English community in Calcutta was consequently deprived of the inestimable advantage of a lady to take the position of the head of society, and the Governor-General himself lost the sweet encouragement and solace which such a companionship generally affords.

Lord Mornington was appointed Governor-General on October 4, 1797, and sailed from England on November 7. He landed at Madras on April 26, 1798, and reached Calcutta on May 17. On his outward voyage he had diligently studied the present phase of Indian politics, and, at the Cape of Good Hope, where his ship touched, he had the advantage of conversing with Major Kirkpatrick, who had recently been Resident at Hyderabad, and who could give

him late information as well as counsel. From the Cape he addressed a despatch to the ministry in England, which indicated very plainly what was likely to be his future course of action. Events were rapidly advancing to a crisis, and were developing into such a state as to require prompt and decisive treatment just as the new ruler set foot on the beach at Madras. He seemed the very person to meet the crisis. In the prime of manhood—thirty-eight years old, strong in purpose, clear of intellect, imperious, prompt, vigorous, decided, he applied himself at once to the solution of the problems of Indian statesmanship awaiting him.

A brief account of the historical events leading up to the present position of affairs will suffice. At the conclusion of the peace with Tippoo Sahib six years before, a triple alliance had been entered into with the Mahrattas and the Nizam, the principal object being to protect the three powers from any attack from Mysore. Under the strong pressure for the maintenance of peace almost at any price, Sir John Shore had kept to the very letter of the agreement, and had not given any assistance to the Nizam, when his territories were invaded by the Mahrattas. The triple alliance had, in fact, been annihilated by this neutral policy. The Nizam regarded the friendship of the English Government with coldness and aversion, and had been converted from being a firm friend into a very doubtful ally. The feeling of the five princes who were the leading minds among the Mahrattas, and especially Dowlat Row Scindia, was more decidedly hostile. They merely feared Tippoo more than they feared the English Government. Tippoo was actually hostile. Ever since the recent war, he had been preparing for renewed resistance, and he had lately entered into friendly relations with the French, who were then engaged in their long struggle with England. The Governor of the Isle of France, now called Mauritius, had promised him assistance, and had issued a proclamation in that island inviting the services of volunteers for Tippoo's army. About a hundred of these volunteers landed at Mangalore on the very day Lord Mornington landed at

Madras. The policy of the French was, moreover, to gain ascendancy in India; and they not only were openly assisting Tippoo, but their officers were busy at the Court of the Peshwa at Poona, and the Nizam possessed a corps of sepoy, some fourteen thousand strong, entirely under French command. Their able leader, M. Raymond, however, had died a few weeks previously. Even before his arrival, Lord Mornington, from his accurate study of the political situation, had come to the determination that this state of affairs must be brought to an end; that the vague talk then common regarding the "balance of power" was delusive; and that England must at once take her rightful place as the paramount power in India.

The Governor-General had not been many days at Calcutta when he read in a newspaper a copy of the proclamation of the Governor of the Isle of France. He at first could scarcely believe it to be true; but irrefragable proof of its genuineness was soon afforded, and he at once wrote to General Harris, Commander-in-Chief and acting Governor of Madras, to make quiet preparations for war, and to let him know how many men could, on an emergency, be placed in the field. He then set himself vigorously to work to secure the neutrality or the active assistance of the Nizam and the Mahrattas in the case of hostilities with Tippoo. The Resident of Hyderabad was directed to enter into negotiation with the Nizam, to persuade him to enter into more intimate relations with the Government, and to dismiss his French contingent. More troops were sent to Hyderabad, and the negotiations were conducted with such persuasiveness and tact that the French sepoy were disarmed and disbanded without the loss of a single man. The Nizam was fully conciliated, and became an active ally, rather than, as it was at first apprehended, a covert enemy on the flank of an army invading Mysore. The neutrality of the Peshwa and of the other Mahratta princes was also secured.

As it was notorious that Tippoo had been intriguing with the French, and that they had sent an army under their most celebrated military commander, Napoleon Buonaparte,

to occupy Egypt, it was considered essential to enter into negotiation with the Sultan of Mysore, and to prevent his being able to co-operate with them in the event of their passing through Egypt on their way to India. Tippoo deliberately refused to receive an ambassador from the Governor-General, and, preparations being now ready, war was declared against him. Lord Mornington came to Madras so as to be near the scene of hostilities. An advance was made in the beginning of March both from the east and west—from Madras and Bombay, and so carefully had all the plans been made that by the middle of April the army was in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam. On May 4, that formidable fortress was taken by assault, and Tippoo Sultan lost his life as well as his crown, a straightforward action and policy being thus easily successful.

A contingent from Hyderabad belonging to the Nizam took part in the campaign, being under the command of the Governor-General's brother, Colonel Arthur Wellesley. At the conclusion of the war, the territories of the late sovereign were divided into three portions. The central portion was reserved for a youthful descendant of the ancient Hindu house from whom Mysore had been taken by Hyder Ali, the Governor-General rightly deciding that the family of the usurping dynasty, which had always shown itself bitterly inimical to English interests, ought not to be placed again in power. The country was to be governed by an able minister under British superintendence until the Maharajah should attain his majority. The remainder of the territory was apportioned to the East India Company and the Nizam. It was the intention of the Governor-General that a share should be given to the Peshwa under certain conditions, though the Mahrattas had taken no part in the campaign; but his offer was declined. The whole of the seaboard of Mysore was retained by the English, together with those districts contiguous to the Company's possessions in Malabar and the Carnatic. The Governor-General received the hearty thanks of the Court of Directors and the British Parliament for the rapidity and vigour with which the campaign had been conducted,

and his sovereign bestowed upon him the honour of creating him a Marquis. From henceforward he will be known as the Marquis Wellesley. This peerage was an Irish one, and on that account he did not regard it with satisfaction. It was, in fact, most distasteful to him, and, what was a sign of the infirmity that often accompanies great genius, he foolishly allowed it to vex and annoy him. „

The war against Tippoo having thus been triumphantly concluded, the attention of the Governor-General was directed to other matters of policy connected with the defence and the consolidation of the British empire in India. The state of the Carnatic had, for some years past, been eminently unsatisfactory. The reigning Nawab had sadly mismanaged affairs, and he had moreover, set aside the legal heir, who was an adopted son of his brother, the late Nawab. After the siege of Seringapatam, papers showing that there had been for many years a secret correspondence carried on between Tippoo and himself which was most inimical to British interests. The Nawab was on his death-bed at the time this correspondence was discovered. After his decease the whole of his territories were placed under the direct government of English officers, and a handsome allowance was given to the young Nawab to enable him to keep up the dignity and state to which he was entitled. The smaller principalities of Tanjore and Surat, one in the south of India and the other in the Presidency of Bombay, had for some years been in an unsettled condition. They were both annexed to the British dominions, and ample provision made for the dignity of the young princes, who had, in each instance but recently acceded to the throne.

The affairs of two much more important kingdoms also pressed for settlement. The arrangements made with the Nizam after the Mysore war had proved satisfactory ; but the payment of the expenses of the English contingent at Hyderabad had been continually in arrears, and, to prevent the constant friction thus occasioned, it was decided that the territory allotted to him at the conclusion of the two last wars should be ceded to the English in satisfaction of this demand. A fresh treaty was entered

into with the Nizam on October 12, 1800, by which the Provinces, that still bear the name of the Ceded Districts, were made over to the Company, certain modifications of boundary were agreed to, and the bonds that bound him and the East India Company were drawn more closely together. There was also the troublesome kingdom of Oudh to be dealt with. The political complications and the constant misgovernment of this kingdom had always been a source of disquiet and discomfort to the English Government of Bengal. Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, and Sir John Shore had, each in his turn, been harassed by the affairs of this frontier kingdom. An invasion of India by Zemaun Shah, the Amir of Afghanistan, seemed imminent, and it would be most disastrous if it should occur, while the kingdom of Oudh was unsettled and unfriendly. Lord Wellesley's policy was that a subsidiary force should be stationed at Lucknow, which would not only be a guarantee for the defence of the frontier, but also be more likely to secure the good government of the kingdom, and the tranquillity of the Nawab's own subjects. The Nawab Vizier, after much hesitation, consented to this arrangement, and signed a treaty to this effect on November 10, 1801. The negotiations were conducted by the Governor-General's brother, Mr. Henry Wellesley. Certain districts in the vicinity were ceded for the maintenance of the subsidiary force.

Lord Wellesley's mind was also occupied with regard to the best arrangements for counteracting the designs of the French on India. Captain Malcolm, an officer in whose judgment he placed implicit confidence, was despatched to Persia for the purpose both of securing the Shah from French and Russian influence, and of diverting the attention of Zemaun Shah from India. In accordance with instructions from England, whence a force had been sent to Egypt for the expulsion of the French from that country, Lord Wellesley despatched a small army under Sir David Baird from India to the Red Sea for the purpose of co-operating with that sent from England, thus affording an example of Indian troops influencing European politics, which was, in

later years, followed by Lord Beaconsfield. A short and illusory peace with France continued for a few months after the treaty of Amiens, by which the French possessions in India were to have been restored to them ; but the Marquis Wellesley, perceiving that peace was not likely to last long, declined to carry these provisions of the treaty into effect, and, when the directions to recapture those possessions were received from England, his prescience was rewarded by there being none to retake. The Governor-General had thus during the four years of his rule, secured the internal tranquillity of India, and its complete defence from external foes.

While the Marquis Wellesley had been assiduously devoting his attention to urgent political affairs, he had by no means neglected the internal matters of Government. Care with regard to finance was essentially necessary, and these were eventually put on a satisfactory basis by Mr. Henry St. George Tucker, subsequently Chairman of the Court of Directors, whom he appointed Accountant-General, after he had served him for a time as Private Secretary during his stay at Madras. The training of young civilians was a subject which lay very near the heart of the Governor-General. He was profoundly impressed by the fact that these young men, to whom some of the most responsible duties that could be required of man were entrusted, had received no preliminary training in England ; and he was most anxious that steps should be taken to ensure their being prepared for the performance of those duties by adequate training on their arrival in this country. He wrote a most admirable State paper on the subject, and following up his ideas and carrying them into practice, he established in July 1800 the College of Fort William at Calcutta, in which the civil servants of the Company were to be trained in those branches of learning that would ensure their usefulness and ability in the public service. The first student was Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, who afterwards rose to great distinction. The Court of Directors, while they approved of the system indicated by Lord Wellesley, were not favourable to the College being

founded at Calcutta, and it did not last very long. The consideration of the subject, however, led to the establishment of a similar College at Haileybury, in the county of Hertford, not many miles from London, where, for some half century, the Company's civilians were educated before leaving for India. This disapproval and reversal of his plans deeply mortified the sensitive mind of the Governor-General. There were also other causes of dissatisfaction. The Court of Directors expressed their disapproval of certain appointments which he had made, thereby touching a sore point that keenly offended him. Twice in the year 1802, he tendered his resignation, which was renewed in the following year. By that time a new source of danger to the Empire had arisen, and he determined to remain at his post from a strong sense of duty. This was the hostility of the Mahratta confederacy, which, ere long, caused the sword again to be unsheathed.

The Mahratta chiefs had long been at enmity among themselves. The years 1801 and 1802 had seen frequent conflicts between them. The Rajah of the Mahratta people was a mere puppet in the hands of others at Satara. His nominal minister, but the real sovereign, Baji Row, the Peshwa, had been up to this time at Poona; but was in this year driven by Jeswant Row Holkar into British territory. Dowlat Row Scindia, of Gwalior, was at war with Holkar. Discomfited by his great and powerful feudatory, the Peshwa was induced to enter into negotiations with the English Government, which issued in the treaty of Bassein on December 31, 1802, whereby he agreed to receive a subsidiary force at Poona, and to enter into full alliance with the English, who, on their part, engaged to restore him to his throne at Poona. It will be impossible to give here more than the briefest sketch of the second Mahratta War. Our object is to regard it from the view of Government House, Calcutta, and as it affected the subject of this biographical sketch. Lord Wellesley possessed one of the greatest qualities of a ruler of men. He knew how to select intelligent and capable lieutenants, and, after he had chosen them, to trust them fully and

unreservedly. He had at his side Mr. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government in the Political Department, whose knowledge of Indian political affairs was then unrivalled. He had at his beck the services of Colonel, afterwards Sir John, Malcolm; and there were at the various courts some of the ablest diplomatists, such as Colonel Collins at the court of Scindia, and Colonel Barry Close at the Peshwa's court. Behind this front row of notable men, the Governor-General kept near himself a reserve of younger men, who afterwards, in every instance, attained eminence. He instituted what he called "the Governor-General's office," which consisted of promising young civilians and others, who were, for a time, trained under his own eye, and wrote despatches from his own dictation. Among these were Adam, Butterworth, Bayley, Jenkins, and Metcalfe, who all were enthusiastically attached to "the glorious little man," as they called him, and responded readily to his political tuition.

The year 1803 was a most eventful one in the history of the making of British India. As already stated, the treaty of Bassein, by which the Peshwa entered into alliance with the British Government as a protected prince, had just been signed. Lord Wellesley had been looking forward to this as the best mode of carrying out the only policy which he considered efficacious, for rendering the power of England paramount in Northern, as it was in Southern India, and for eventually securing the peace of the country by the subjugation of the Mahratta confederation. It had now been forced upon the Peshwa by the attacks of his own coadjutor sovereigns. Lord Wellesley determined that the advantage gained by this treaty should not be merely nominal. Two efficient armies, one in the south commanded by General Arthur Wellesley, and the other in the north under the Commander-in-Chief General Lake, were ready, to take the field at a moment's notice. Directions were given to the former General to advance at once to Poona, and to restore the Peshwa to his capital city. With admirable rapidity General Wellesley responded, and Poona was taken on April 20, 1803, without a shot being

fired, Holkar, who held it, retreating forthwith, and, on May 13, the Peshwa himself returned under British protection. This thoroughly disconcerted and irritated Scindia, who had by his own supineness lost his hold on the Peshwa. He at once entered into communication with the Rajah of Berar and Holkar; but, while the former, cordially received his advances, the latter treated them coldly. These intrigues were watched by the British Resident, Colonel Collins, with keen interest, or rather impatience, and, at length, observing that Scindia and the Rajah of Berar had come to an understanding, and were now merely delaying to gain time for preparation, he quitted Scindia's camp on August 3.

This was the signal for war. For months past the Governor-General had been making preparation for what he considered an inevitable campaign. As events ripened and the time drew near, the excitement in the Governor-General's office grew to fever heat. We return to Government House, Calcutta, where the central spring of the whole machinery was being worked. Day after day the Governor-General paced up and down the room of his office, dictating despatches to his youthful assistants. The end was approaching. For hours the pens of the young, enthusiastic men wrote these eventful letters. Like a practised chess-player, who, with clear brain, can engage in several games at once without confusing them one with another, so the great statesman paced to and fro, dictating now a despatch to his brother or to General Lake or a letter to Colonel Malcolm, Colonel Collins, or Major Kirkpatrick, or an ultimatum to Scindia, or the Rajah of Berar, interspersing these statesmanlike missives with words of cheer and encouragement to his loving scribes. Ere long, he told them, the work would be over, and he had prepared a banquet for them in Government House to refresh them after their severe toil. It was a sultry day in August, but their zeal and energy flogged not. Daylight faded into eve, and still, by the dim light of lamps, they pursued their task until, at last, well after midnight, they ceased, and they adjourned to the banquet to

talk over events and to cheer themselves with praises of their leader. Thus war was declared, and young statesmen were made.

Directly these despatches were received, action was taken. Rarely have campaigns been more rapidly executed. General Wellesley was at once in the field. Ahmednagar was taken on August 12. On September 23, the battle of Assaye was fought in which the enemy were totally defeated. Several fortresses were taken, and on November 29, the campaign was concluded by the decisive victory of Argaum. General Lake was equally successful. Advancing from Cawnpore, he took Aligarh, defeated the Mahratta forces near Delhi, and released from Mahratta bondage the blind old Emperor, Shah Alam. He then captured Agra, and totally defeated Scindia at Laswari on the 1st of November. In four months both Scindia and the Rajah of Berar were reduced to subjection. The immediate results of the war were the surrender of the province of Cuttack, and of all Scindia's territory between the Jumna and the Ganges, and Scindia renounced all his claims on the Peshwa, the titular Emperor of Delhi, and the Nizam.

But Holkar had yet to be dealt with. For some unknown reason he had not joined Scindia and the Rajah of Berar; but, as soon as they had been defeated, his manner and his actions became very menacing. He threatened Scindia and attempted to capture some of his strongholds; but Scindia was now under British protection. General Lake was, therefore, prepared to oppose him. Holkar's troops were much more of the typical Mahratta nature than Scindia's. They consisted chiefly of cavalry, and he boasted that his kingdom was on his saddle. The campaign against him began disastrously for the British arms. Colonel Monson had been sent against him with a sepoy force to Jeypore. Thence he retired towards Kota, when Colonel Monson injudiciously retreated, and his retreat was most disastrous. But it was speedily retrieved by General Lake, and the decisive battles of Deeg and Furruckabad compelled Holkar ultimately to flee into the Panjab, where

he surrendered on December 24, 1805. Thus ended the second Mahratta war.

Meanwhile Lord Wellesley's tenure of office had ended. There had for some time been serious differences of opinion between him and the Court of Directors, who had regarded the Mahratta war with feelings of disapproval and distaste, and who were decidedly opposed to the whole of his foreign policy. The success of the earlier part of the campaign had, however, reconciled them to the war; but they had never ceased to feel the heavy financial difficulties to which it had subjected the country, and when the news of Colonel Monson's retreat reached England, they determined on measures calculated to reverse the Governor-General's warlike policy. His Majesty's ministers being of the same opinion, the Marquis Cornwallis was again made Governor-General, and Lord Wellesley handed over to him the seals of office on July 30, 1805. Holkar was then still in the field, and Scindia had been of late showing signs of a restless desire to recommence hostilities. It was necessary to carry out Lord Cornwallis's instructions, and very easy terms were concluded with both those sovereigns by Sir George Barlow, who succeeded to power on the decease of Lord Cornwallis soon after his return to India.

It is impossible to avoid some contrast between the policy of Lord Wellesley and that of the Court of Directors which it was the mission of his successor to carry out. It is very plain that the sincere desire both of the Court and of the King's Government throughout all the earlier stages of English dominion in India, was for peace, and sometimes even almost dishonourable measures were taken to secure it. It is also evident that had the reigning princes of India in those days refrained from intriguing against or attacking the British Government, there would have been no necessity for repelling them or attacking them. In the great majority of instances war was compulsory. Had Tippoo, Scindia, or Holkar kept free from intrigue either with the French or with British enemies in India, there would have been no Mysore or Mahratta

wars ; but undoubtedly, as the case was, the choice lay between the expulsion of the English power or its consolidation, and the policy of the Marquis Wellesley was right. The peace and prosperity of the country depended on the English power becoming supreme. We who are living at the close of this century, on looking back to its commencement, can see how vastly better is the present condition of the people of India than it was under the devastating warfare and tyranny of the Mogul Emperors or during the marauding raids of the Mahrattas. The *Pax Britannica*, the peace which English rule ensures, is not one of the least blessings bestowed by England on India.

Lord Wellesley was most anxious to promote the highest welfare of the people. The training of young civilians was not the only object he had in view in establishing the College of Fort William. He intended to patronise oriental learning and the impartation of Western knowledge to wise men of the East. During the few months of its existence about a hundred learned pundits, not only from different parts of India, but also from Persia and Arabia, were attached to it. Dr. William Carey, who may appropriately be called the first English Protestant missionary to India, was appointed professor of Bengali and Sanskrit, and translations of the Holy Scriptures into seven Oriental languages were begun under Lord Wellesley's patronage ; so that, as Dr. Claudius Buchanan wrote, directed by the flood of light raised by this College, "learned men from every quarter come to the source of knowledge ; they mark our principles, ponder the volume of inspiration, 'and hear every man in his own tongue the wonderful works of God.' " Though the College did not last, it remained long enough to show the magnificent ideas on the diffusion of both Oriental and Western knowledge which animated the Governor-General's mind.

• He was not permitted to carry into effect all his ideas as a judicial and social reformer. His heart shrank from the two cruel practices of human sacrifice and suttee, which, by long and almost immemorial custom, had been permitted to disfigure and defile the Hindu religion. As is the case

with regard to other practices which, in the course of ages, have been engrafted on Hinduism, they received no sanction from Manu or the Vedas. Having ascertained from learned pundits that the custom of sacrificing children and sometimes adults by exposure on the banks of the Ganges at Saugor and other places, "was not sanctioned by the Hindu Law, nor countenanced by the religious orders or by the people at large," the Governor-General in Council past a regulation declaring the practice to be criminal and punishable as murder. Lord Wellesley also instituted an inquiry into the custom of suttee, in which it was necessary to proceed with the greatest caution and circumspection. His return to England, however, prevented him from doing more than this, and it was left to Lord William Bentinck, a future Governor-General to carry out the beneficent reform of practically abolishing suttee.

The Marquis Wellesley was truly oriental in his conceptions as to the magnificence that one in the high position of Governor-General and Captain-General of India ought to assume. He expected the most rigorous etiquette and ceremony to be observed towards himself personally. Finding that the Government House at Calcutta was too small, he caused a spacious and semi-regal palace to be built on the esplanade between Fort William and the town. It was opened on January 26, 1803, with a splendid entertainment given in honour of the general peace. Lord Wellesley had previously taken possession of the house at Barrackpore, which had hitherto been occupied by the Commander-in-Chief, and which he improved with great taste. This country residence, situated on the left bank of the Ganges, in the midst of a beautiful park, has since been a favourite spot with succeeding Governors-General.

The Marquis Wellesley reached England in January 1806, a very different man to what he was when he left it seven years before. He had rendered his country incomparable service by his singularly able administration in India; but every one did not rush forward to acknowledge this, and his seven years almost autocratic rule had made

him vain-glorious and imperious. The consciousness of this infirmity made him overbearing and irritable. This showed itself even at the dinner-table on the evening after he had landed. Lady Wellesley, with their children, had come to greet him on his return ; but, at dinner, forgetting that he was not exactly the same man to whom she had plighted her troth several years ago, unhappily, but innocently, remarked, " Ah ! you must not think you are in India still, where everybody ran to obey you. They mind nobody here." This led to an estrangement between them. As it was in private life, so also it was in political and official life, and it embittered both. Apparently he must be first and supreme in everything. He arrived just in time to see his old friend and master in political science, Mr. Pitt, once more. The great statesman was dying. Hearing of Lord Wellesley's arrival, he sent for him, and they had a final interview just twelve days before Mr. Pitt's death.

The Marquis Wellesley was not in a position to resume political employ for some little time after his return to England. One of those annoyances to which eminent men are peculiarly liable was in store for him. Some of the greatest Anglo-Indian statesmen had been subjected to persecution and impeachment on account of their policy in India. An attempt at the same course was made against the Marquis Wellesley ; but it signally failed. A Mr. Paull who had made a fortune in India, and had subsequently obtained a seat in the House of Commons, moved for the production of papers on which to found his indictment against the ex-Governor-General on account of his policy in Oudh ; but, before he could proceed further, a dissolution of Parliament took place, and he lost his seat, so that the charge was made by another member of Parliament, Lord Folkestone, who was defeated by a large majority of votes. A resolution of the House of Commons approving Lord Wellesley's conduct was then triumphantly carried. There was no doubt that the people of England thoroughly approved of his brilliant statesmanship in India, though not in the enthusiastic manner which he anticipated.

Lord Wellesley diligently attended to his duties in the House of Lords. He was, however, very careful about his utterances. He did not feel inclined to speak at all, unless he felt that he could make the best speech in a debate, and this sometimes led him not to speak when he ought to have spoken. He made his first speech in the Upper House on February 8, 1808, rather more than two years after his return. It was on a most important political subject—the seizure of the Danish fleet; and was regarded as an admirable specimen of parliamentary oratory. He was, however, very nervous in the effort, though appearing outwardly calm and collected. In the following year he fairly entered into European diplomatic life, and eventually into English ministerial responsibility. He was at first closely associated with his brother, Sir Arthur Wellesley. England had undertaken to assist Spain and Portugal in their defence against the attacks of the great Napoleon. Sir Arthur was sent to command the English army in the latter country, and the Marquis was commissioned to proceed to Spain as Ambassador Extraordinary to conduct the negotiations with the Spanish Government. He was employed in this manner from June to November, 1809. In the latter month he left Spain, having accepted office under Mr. Percival, then Prime Minister, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The period during which the Marquis Wellesley was Foreign Minister was one of the most critical possible not only for England, but for the whole of Europe. It is scarcely too much to say that all Europe was then in subjugation to Napoleon, England only excepted. Her army kept the conqueror at bay in Portugal and Spain. No more resolute and far-seeing minister could have been entrusted with the seals of office than Lord Wellesley. No adverse criticism daunted him from straining every nerve to continue the war against France with vigour and success, while, nobly seconded and supported by him in England, his brother completely vanquished Napoleon's ablest lieutenants in Spain. He remained Foreign Minister of England during this very critical period, that is, from Novem-

ber 1809 to February 19, 1812, when he resigned on account of an entirely different subject, namely, the Roman Catholic Emancipation question, which was then being brought forward. He was in favour of the policy of removing all disabilities on the score of religion: his colleagues were not. They were, however, not unwilling to allow him to quit the Cabinet, because his imperious disposition prevented him from working harmoniously with them. Another point of difference was his opinion that they were not vigorous enough in their prosecution of the war in Spain, or, as he himself expressed it, "their efforts were just too short." His brother, now Lord Wellington, had nevertheless won some of his most brilliant victories, and he was daily gaining sufficient strength to make a decisive forward movement into Spain. Lord Wellesley's strenuous efforts had afforded him the means of success.

In the month of May, 1812, Lord Wellesley was entrusted by the Prince Regent with the arduous duty of endeavoring to form a new Cabinet, after the assassination of Mr. Percival. He was not successful however, and, for the next nine years, he remained out of office; but his services were too valuable to be altogether dispensed with, and in December 1821, he occupied the very important and onerous position of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a position which had also been held by Lord Cornwallis. His term of office lasted for just six years. It was a period of much excitement and turmoil. On the whole he was tolerably popular; and, as he was known by the Roman Catholics to be favourable to Emancipation and was himself an illustrious Protestant Irishman, he was in a position to hold an even balance between the two contending parties. When he assumed office, Ireland was in a condition bordering on rebellion. This was energetically suppressed; the destitution among the peasants occasioned by the unsettled state of the country was relieved by public subscriptions supplemented by a Government grant, most of which was raised in England; and much was done towards discountenancing and suppressing secret societies, which were the bane of the land. During the time of his Viceroyalty, the

Marquis Wellesley married a second time, his first wife having died in 1816. On October 29, 1825, he was united to Mrs. Patterson, the daughter of an American gentleman, and a lady of considerable personal attractions and mental accomplishments.

In December, 1827, Lord Wellesley, as the end of his term of office was drawing near, returned to England. He came back to do all that lay in his power to advocate the cause of Catholic Emancipation. His younger brother, the great Duke, became Prime Minister of England in the following year, and was at first opposed, and then, under stress of circumstances which he considered rendered it inevitable, he became favourable to passing this act of relief. The Act was passed in the year 1829. The measure became law, which he had consistently advocated for many years, and on which as he himself said, "he had formed his opinion from long and intimate acquaintance with the constitution of his country." A little later, from the middle of 1833 to April 1835, Lord Wellesley was again Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. For a brief period he held office as Lord Chamberlain, and he then retired from all participation in public affairs. The evening of his life was tranquil. Like his great predecessor, Warren Hastings, he employed the leisure of his old age in social enjoyment and in literary recreation. He amused himself principally with writing verse. At this time the Court of Directors, then living in a generation that appreciated his services more highly than their ancestors did, showed their estimation of what he had done for India by two graceful acts. Hearing that his means were straitened, they voted him the sum of £20,000, and, a few years later, they placed a marble statue of him in the India House. The kindest expressions were used with regard to his illustrious services by many of the Directors when these honours were awarded to him. The last few years of his life were spent in a house at Brompton, a suburb of London, where he died on September 26, 1842, in the eighty-third year of his age.

The Marquis Wellesley's was essentially a public life. With the exception of his later years it was past in the

excitement of high position or in the turmoil of political strife. There are few passages in his correspondence of a quiet and domestic nature, which, as in the case of most eminent men, reveal the inner workings of the heart. It has been seen from the preceding narrative how clear was the foresight and how statesmanlike was the policy of his rule in India ; but he was sensitive in a pre-eminent degree, and fancied non-appreciation of his services affected him even to the detriment of his health. On the other hand, no one in his exalted position possessed in a more perfect form the faculty of recognizing merit and of making choice of fit agents, and of then trusting them to the full. The secret of his successful government lay in this consummate art. We would not be far wrong if we called his a most useful, but not a happy, life. Lord Wellesley had an admirable style in writing, but, as his despatches prove, it was a thoroughly official style. He was always fond of literature, and some of his verses, both in Latin and in English, show considerable culture and taste.

It cannot be said that the Marquis Wellesley was a decidedly Christian man. He saw, however, how incumbent it was on the ruling and paramount power to show plainly that they had a faith, and were not ashamed to make an open profession of it. Englishman in India had, with some brilliant exceptions, been untrue to their country and unfaithful to their God in this respect. Lord Wellesley, while exercising a severe censorship over the English press, rightly directed that the newspapers should not be published on Sunday, and readily carried out the wishes of the Court of Directors that official work should not be performed on the Christian Sabbath day of rest. On his return to Calcutta after the successful termination of the war in Mysore, he set apart a day for public thanksgiving to Almighty God. He and the principal officers of State walked to church at the early morning service, and openly joined in this tribute of praise, the Rev. David Brown reading the prayers, and the Rev. Claudius Buchanan preaching the sermon on this memorable occasion. We have thus endeavoured briefly to record the chief events in

the life of one of the greatest Governors India has ever known. British India of the present day really owes its first moulding and form to his capable hands, and the people would have more directly benefited under his grand designs of amelioration and reform, if his attention had not been so fully occupied with the wars which were forced upon him by no desire of his own.



THE EARL OF MINTO.

V.—THE EARL OF MINTO.

A.D. 1751 TO 1814.

“ Let Reason’s torch on zeal attend,
Her calm undazzling light to lend :
With patriot ardour wisdom blend.
Be these your guides.
Your country’s good the noble end,
And nought besides.”

Lord Minto.

THESE lines are from a little poem written by Lord Minto himself when in India and dedicated to his family. We prefix them to this brief memoir, not because his name is enrolled on the goodly scroll of English poets ; but because they accurately describe the course of life which he himself followed, and which he desired the members of his family to pursue. Like so many other English statesmen, his sincere desire was, first of all, the welfare of his country ; and he endeavoured to promote it by a calm, wise, and consistent performance of duty, even when it went counter to his own inclinations.

Mr. Gilbert Elliot, as he was at first, came of a good old Scottish family, in which there had been several distinguished members. His father was a member of Parliament, and as his duties took him often to Edinburgh or London, and the mode of travelling in those days was slow and tedious, he did not stay often at his family estate, but usually resided in one of those cities. Sir Gilbert and Lady Elliot had four sons and two daughters. One of the latter married Mr. Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, and was the mother of one of the Governors-General. The two elder sons, Gilbert and Hugh, both attained considerable eminence as politicians and diplomatists. These two brothers were brought up together until they were nearly twenty years of age and

then parted to meet but seldom afterwards. They were sincerely attached to each other. Hugh for many years represented his sovereign as ambassador at Berlin and other European Courts, and eventually became Governor of Madras in the year after his brother had resigned his position as Governor-General. The third brother, Alexander, entered the Bengal Civil Service, was a man of much promise, and was thought of very highly by Warren Hastings ; but he died in India at a comparatively early age.

The future Governor-General was born April 23, 1751. He was placed, when eleven years old, with his brother Hugh, in the charge of a young tutor, who, after two years, accompanied them to Paris. There they entered a military school, and Mr. David Hume, the well-known historian, took the general superintendence of their education. They became intimate with the sons of some of the most noble families in France, among whom was the celebrated Mirabeau, and Gilbert Elliot kept up his acquaintance with him for many years. They thoroughly acquired the French language and French modes of thought, which became of great service to them in their future diplomatic career. In 1768 they both went to Christ Church, Oxford ; but, two years later they returned, for a time to Paris, and then Gilbert went once more to Oxford, where he remained to take his degree, and Hugh began his military training in other parts of the continent of Europe.

At the conclusion of his University course, Mr. Gilbert Elliot went to London to study law. He withdrew for some time from society for the purpose of giving himself up to this pursuit, and he seems to have made a very fair start at the bar, to have spoken well in the causes he was engaged in, and to have been specially employed in one celebrated election case. He did not prosecute the profession of law, however, but turned into the more inviting, but less profitable, occupation of politics. He was requested to stand as member of parliament for Morpeth, a town the county of Northumberland bordering on Scotland, and was returned for it in the summer of 1776. On Janu-

ary 3, 1777, he was married to Miss Anna Maria Amyand, daughter of Sir George Amyand, M. P., a lady to whom he had been attached for many years, and with whom he lived most happily. She was evidently a lady of great sense and much thoughtfulness. His father did not live to hear of his marriage, but thoroughly approved of the step he was taking. He said, "By Miss Amyand's letters she is a sensible good woman, and I believe will be good wife and comfortable relation," adding with great energy, "what a wise man Gilbert has been to leave the skirts of the fine people, and associate with men of sense and character who have led him into a conduct of virtue and wisdom." In the early part of their married life they were often separated, he being obliged to remain in London the greater part of the year in order to attend to his parliamentary duties, while she generally went to their beautiful estate at Minto, as she enjoyed better health in the clearer air of the country; but they carried on a continuous correspondence during the periods of their separation, and it is evident from these letters how fully they loved one another and delighted in each other's society. One passage from them will be sufficient to prove this. "Very full letters," he once wrote, "are the best substitute for your absence; a poor resource when compared with your presence, but inestimable if your absence is necessary."

Minto, from which Sir Gilbert Elliot afterwards took his title on his elevation to the peerage, is a pleasant estate in Roxburghshire. It is now more tastefully planted and the garden more artificially beautiful than it was a hundred years ago; but it must then have been wilder and more naturally lovely. The sheet of water near the house, which now reflects laburnums and rhododendrons, was then a narrow and rapid stream running between banks covered with jungle thorn-bushes. The house too was then less convenient; but Gilbert Elliot's wife loved the place, as she said, passionately, and delighted in its rugged beauties.

January 1777 was an eventful month in Gilbert Elliot's life. Soon after his marriage, his father, who had been compelled to go to the south of France for the sake of his

health, died on the eleventh day of the month, and he succeeded him as baronet, so that he was henceforward Sir Gilbert Elliot, and became the head of the family. Soon after his father's death, he was returned to Parliament as the member for his native country, Roxburghshire, a position which had been held by his father, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather before him. His parliamentary life was rather uneventful so far as he was concerned, for, although he came in contact with many of the great men of the day, and was the eye-witness of many stirring scenes in the House of Commons, he was never a very keen politician. At first he gave his support to the ministry of the time, especially in their prosecution of the American war; but in 1780, he was very much impressed by a speech of Edmund Burke's on Reform, and he made the acquaintance of that eminent, but prejudiced, man, which ere long ripened into warm friendship. He became under Burke's inspiration an ardent supporter of the popular side of politics, and joined the Whigs, which was the name given to that particular political party. In 1782 Sir Gilbert's health gave way for a time. He caught a severe cold, and there were threatenings of consumption, so he was obliged to go to the milder climate of the south coast of France for the benefit of his health. Lady Elliot accompanied him, and, while stopping at Lyons on the way, their eldest child, who succeeded him in the title of Earl of Minto, was born. Happily his health was completely reinstated by this little change.

In the year 1786, Burke induced Sir Gilbert to give his support to the charges brought against Warren Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey. At the general election two years before, Sir Gilbert had lost his seat in Parliament, at which he seems to have been rather pleased, as affording him leisure for reading and self-improvement. Among other occupations he entered heartily into getting up the subject of the celebrated prosecution of Warren Hastings, of whose guilt he appears thoroughly to have persuaded himself. Being in London at the time, he rejoiced at the success of the faction in procuring that great

statesman's prosecution. "Our victory on the Benares charge," he wrote, "has given me the greatest satisfaction and comfort. It is a most comfortable testimony to the general justice of the prosecution, and a shield to the characters and reputation of the prosecutors."

Sir Gilbert Elliot was returned to Parliament again in September 1786; this time for the border town of Berwick. On learning this news Burke wrote him an affectionate congratulation, urging him to push himself more forward in political matters, and to shake off some of his retiring nature. "You *must* be less modest;" he wrote, "you must be all you can be, and you can be everything; we cannot spare an atom of you." Sir Gilbert was not a frequent speaker in the House of Commons. He seems never to have thoroughly overcome his nervousness. On the evening of December 12, 1787, he delivered the most eloquent speech he made in that distinguished assembly, on the prosecution of Sir Elijah Impey, and the restoration of Francis to the Committee of Managers of the approaching trial. Burke wrote to Lady Elliot regarding this speech in terms of the highest praise. "There was not a topic," he said, "upon which he touched that had not its peculiar beauty and the finishing hand of a master." Such praise from a past master in the art of rhetoric was praise indeed. Sir Gilbert had, however, failed to understand Francis's real character.

Sir Gilbert was one of the managers for the prosecution in the celebrated trial. We have already given a brief account of it in Warren Hastings' Life; and, therefore, it is sufficient just to refer to it so far as the future Governor-General is concerned, as his words cast a slight side-light upon it. All the managers appeared in full dress. "My dress coat is just come home," he writes to his wife the day before the trial. "My coat is drab with steel buttons: waistcoat of the same." Returning from the opening of the trial next day, he writes:—"It is difficult to conceive anything more grand or imposing than this scene. Everything that England possesses of greatness or ability is there assembled, in the utmost splendour and solemnity, for one

of the most solemn purposes imaginable. There is a large place for the managers fronting the throne, with a table and accommodation for our counsel, agent, and attendants." Amidst all the grandeur and magnificence of the scene, however, his heart misgives him, for the supposed criminal who was then standing near him, had been very kind to his brother Alexander, and a touch of compunction for his harsh feeling comes over him. "I never saw Hastings till to-day," he added, "and had not formed anything like a just idea of him. I never saw a more miserable looking creature, but indeed he has so much the appearance of bad health that I do not suppose he resembles even himself"—no wonder considering the position he was in. "He looks as if he could not live a week." He survived Sir Gilbert four years. "I always feel uncomfortable in the reflection of his connections with Alick, and I cannot say I was insensible to that idea on seeing him to-day. But the clearness of his guilt and the atrociousness of his crimes can leave no hesitation in any body's mind, who thinks as I do about, it what one's duty is." The only other point in connection with this topic that need be alluded to here is his speech, or rather speeches, for it was spread over two days, on the prosecution of Sir Elijah Impey. It lasted for several hours on April 28 and May 9, 1788. The motion was lost. His speech was, however, printed with corrections by Burke.

The estimation in which Sir Gilbert was held by his friends was so high that they nominated him for the honourable office of Speaker, that is, the chairman, of the House of Commons. He was proposed on January 5, 1789, but Mr. Grenville was elected by a large majority, and on Mr. Grenville vacating the post in the following June on being made a Cabinet Minister, he was proposed in opposition to Mr. Addington, but again defeated. The very fact of being proposed by his party was complimentary to him and creditable to his character for impartiality and justice. During the remainder of his parliamentary career, little that was remarkable occurred. Finding the great difficulty and inconvenience of being absent more than half the

year from his family he formed the design of resigning his seat at the general election of 1790, in order that he might be more with his wife and growing children; but he was persuaded by his friends to relinquish this intention, and he was returned for a small borough in Cornwall on the understanding that he was to attend Parliament only when it was absolutely necessary for him to do so.

Three years later his Parliamentary life was exchanged for a diplomatic one, and he had almost entirely to quit his favourite place in Scotland. In 1793 the war occasioned by the terrible French Revolution was raging in Europe. Toulon, the chief port of the French navy in the Mediterranean, was, in August of that year, handed over by the loyalists of the town to the British, for the sake of their protection, and Lord Hood, the British naval commander in the Mediterranean, took possession of the town. Sir Gilbert Elliot was selected by the ministry to go there as the civil officer in charge of the town. Leaving England on October 18, he proceeded thither as rapidly as the means of transit in those days permitted; and did his best to supply the beleaguered garrison with food. The siege was at first carried on in a most unskilful way by the Republican army; but there was in it a young captain of artillery, named Napoleon Buonaparte, who made his first mark in military history by his suggestion as to the conduct of the siege. His clear eye noticed how certain forts on a neck of land dominated the town and harbour, and persuaded the general commanding to concentrate all his attention on them. The principal fort was taken, and, on December 19, the English and their allies withdrew after burning those war vessels in the harbour which could not be removed. During this weird conflagration hundreds of the frightened inhabitants, dreading the terrible retribution that awaited those who remained, fled on board the English ships of war, and Sir Gilbert used his utmost exertions to comfort and relieve them. "It is some sort of gratification to me," he wrote to Lady Elliot in the fulness of his heart, "to be considered the saviour and friend of all these forlorn families. I had the pleasure of saving several lives, and

of being the sole instrument of any succour or comfort which any of them have obtained. One little boy whose father is missing has taken as kindly to me as if he were my own." The treatment of the French royalists after the recapture of Toulon is one of the most ghastly episodes in the appalling French Revolution, and it is pleasing to contrast the humane exertions of the kindly English statesman with the frantic cruelty of the French victors.

Early in January 1794, Sir Gilbert Elliot went to the island of Corsica to negotiate regarding its cession to England. It had recently been in the possession of France but General Paoli, who was generally trusted by his countrymen, revolted and, made an offer of the island to the King of England, and this offer being ratified by the Corsican Parliament, it was accepted by the English ministry. Sir Gilbert Elliot was appointed Viceroy, and on June 19, 1794, he formally took charge of the Government in the name of King George the Third. From that date till October 1796, or rather more than two years, he ruled the volatile and excitable Corsican people with an amount of good humour and tact which won him their respect and even their love. His sole desire was to show them the beauty and the benefits of constitutional government, and his policy was to make the island the centre of English naval dominion in the Mediterranean Sea. Captain Horatio Nelson, afterwards Lord Nelson, the great English naval hero, was in the Mediterranean fleet, and contracted a firm friendship with Sir Gilbert, and, when the latter left the island, wrote in strong praise of his conduct as Viceroy. "It is impossible," he said, "I can do justice to the good arrangement of the Government or the good management of the Viceroy with the Corsicans; even those who had opposed his administration could not but love and respect so amiable a character." In the autumn of 1794, Lady Elliot and their children joined him, and they all delighted in the beauty of the scenery and in the pleasantness of the climate, crossing over, however, in the hot weather to the mainland and the hills of Italy. At the close of his administration they returned to England in a ship of war; and he followed them after hav-

ing gone for a time to Naples on diplomatic duty. On his way home in a frigate, he happened to be present at the great naval action off Cape St. Vincent, reaching England on March 5, 1797, with the news of that victory. Thus ended an eventful and busy period of his life, and in the following year, the King, in consideration of the essential services he had rendered to his country, created him a peer of the realm by the title of Baron Minto.

In 1799 Lord Minto was again actively employed in the service of his country. In June of that year he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary, that is, an ambassador with full power of acting, to the Court of Vienna, and the immediate object of his mission was to induce the Emperor of Austria to throw himself heartily into alliance with England in the war she was then prosecuting against France. After much negotiation he was successful, and a treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Austria was signed on June 20, 1800. It was, however, of little use. The war, which had hitherto been carried on with little spirit, just at that time underwent a complete change. The guiding hand of a master in the art of war was just beginning to be felt on the side of France. Napoleon Buonaparte, who had lately been in Egypt, had returned suddenly to Europe, and had put fresh life into the affairs of France. Only five days before the signing of the above mentioned treaty, the battle of Marengo was fought; and, ere long, Austria was at the mercy of the conqueror, and a fresh treaty was entered into between France and Austria. Though the main object of his embassy had thus been frustrated, Lord Minto had the pleasure of receiving his Sovereign's approval of the firmness and vigour he had shown during a peculiarly trying and critical time. Lady Minto was with him the greater part of his stay in the beautiful capital of Austria.

Lord Minto returned to London in October, 1801, after an absence of rather more than two years. The next five years were spent in a very similar way to that when he was in the House of Commons, in parliamentary duties and in the society of his friends and fellow statesmen. He resided in London during the time the House of Lords was

sitting, and on other occasions lived in Edinburgh or at Minto. In January, 1806, after the death of the distinguished statesman, Mr. Pitt, to whom England owed so much, a new ministry came into power, which, being composed of many brilliant and intellectual men, was jocularly called "The Ministry of all the Talents." Lord Minto took office as President of the Board of Control, but without a seat in the Cabinet, that is, he was not actually one of the responsible Ministers of the Crown. This appointment brought him into close contact with Indian affairs, and caused him a great deal of hard work. He held this important position for only a few weeks. The news of Lord Cornwallis's death soon after his having gone out a second time as Governor-General was received just as Lord Minto took office; and a conflict arose between the King's ministers and the Court of Directors regarding the choice of his successor. When this dissension was at its height, the Prime Minister proposed Lord Minto as the right person to fill that responsible post, a suggestion which proved agreeable to all parties, as he was known to be a wise, judicious, and conciliatory statesman, who seemed likely to take a sound and sober view of affairs in India, and to exercise a salutary influence there. He at first declined the offer, but afterwards reluctantly accepted it on the ground of public duty. His reluctance was chiefly on account of domestic reasons, because he felt that Lady Minto, whom he so tenderly loved, ought not to accompany him to India for the sake of her health. She was in Scotland at the time, and he wrote to her on the subject in these words:—"Now comes the domestic deliberation, and that is exactly the greatest conflict to which my mind could ever be put. My own personal comforts, enjoyments, and happiness can be preserved only at home with yourself and the children." It ought here to be added that he regarded the appointment as one in which he had the opportunity of doing good to the people of India. When, many years before, he had, under a mistaken sense of duty, become one of the managers in the trial of Warren Hastings, he said that "his earnest

desire to befriend the people of India had decided him to undertake a business in many respects uncongenial to his nature." So on this occasion, he wrote to Lady Minto, "There is the hope of becoming the instrument of great and extensive good." "Most of all," he added, "I hope you are firmly convinced that that no personal passion, such as ambition, could weigh a single grain in the balance against the love I bear you, my affection for the children, and the delight with which I have been looking forward to a greater share of your and their company than I have had for many years." During the time of preparation for his departure, Lord Minto was gratified to hear of the engagement of his eldest son to be married, and he was present at his wedding. He felt most keenly the parting from his family and friends; but was pleased to observe the happiness of one who was henceforward to take his position as head of the family in Britain. He sailed from England in the 'Modeste' frigate, commanded by his second son, George Elliot, on February 5, 1807.

After a voyage which lasted four months, Lord Minto reached Madras on June 20, 1807. He there met his third son, John Edmund Elliot, who was in the Civil Service, and who became his private secretary, accompanying him to Calcutta. He assumed charge of the Government on July 31. During the interval between Lord Cornwallis's death, nearly two years previously, and Lord Minto's arrival, Sir George Barlow, the senior member of Council, had acted as Governor-General, and had been the instrument of carrying out the policy of the Court of Directors supported by the King's ministers in England, which may appropriately be described as the policy of peace in India at any price. Sir George Barlow was at this time transferred to the Governorship of Madras. On his proceeding to Madras, Mr. Lumsden, Mr. Colebrooke, the distinguished Oriental scholar, and General Hewitt, the Commander-in-Chief, were the members of Council, with whom Lord Minto had the pleasure of working harmoniously during the whole period of his Government.

Lord Minto felt most keenly the separation from his wife. Contrary to the case of Lord Wellesley, we have abundant material for estimating his private character and the feelings of his mind, for he employed himself in writing long letters, more like journals than the ordinary correspondence of every day life, so that we know thoroughly his ideas and thoughts about matters not connected with the official government of the Indian Empire. He was, when he reached Calcutta, fifty-six years of age, so that the change from life in London to the very different scenes in Calcutta struck him very forcibly, and he felt a good deal the closeness and heat of the climate. Writing to his eldest son a few weeks after his arrival, he gives an amusing account of the manner of conducting business in Council, part of which it will be interesting to quote as the experiences of a new comer. "The routine," he wrote, "is this. The Secretaries in the different departments send in circulation to me and the members of Council the despatches they have received since the last Council, and the documents relating to all business which arises in the interval. The number and variety of affairs is immense; for everything, small as well as great, must have the sanction of Government. The Secretaries attend at Council, each department in its turn with its mountain of bundles. The Secretary reads the substance of each paper, and the order is given on the spot. Now our Secretaries are all modest men, who scarcely read above their breath. It is a constant strain of the ear to hear them; the business is often the heaviest and duller kind, the voices monotonous, and as one small concern follows another, the punkah vibrates gently over my eyes; and in this warm atmosphere the whole operation has been found somewhat composing. It is often a vehement struggle to avoid a delectable oblivious wink."

The new Governor-General was delighted to leave the formality and stateliness of Calcutta for the pleasant retirement of Barrackpore. There he had leisure to read and write and think. The beauty of the scenery and the quietness of the place attracted him. "The real

beauty," he wrote, "consists in the rich verdure, the magnificent timber, and the fine river which forms one side of the place. The breadth of the Ganges here is sufficient for grandeur, and not too much for beauty. It is all alive with a brisk navigation of boats and vessels of different build and dimensions, and all of the most picturesque forms and fashions." He had a great affection for this country residence, calling it "a kind of little Minto," for it reminded him of his Scottish home.

When Lord Minto assumed charge of the Government, India was settling down after the swift, victorious campaigns of the Marquis Wellesley. The frontier of British India, then infinitely smaller and more compressed than at present, was well defined. There were formidable enemies beyond it. The Mahrattas especially were preparing for further conflict, evidently at no distant date. The enemy most dreaded, however, was France. During the whole of Lord Minto's administration, England and France were at war, and it was necessary not only to keep a jealous eye on the colonial possessions of France, but to keep vigilant watch lest her sons should endeavour to invade India, or to intrigue at the independent Hindu or Muhammadan Courts. During this waiting time the financial position of the country was considerably improved. Lord Minto's policy was not, however, one entirely of peace, and certainly not of timidity and submission. He was quite ready, on suitable occasions, to use the language of firmness and decision, and, to employ his own words "to discharge the duty which a sovereign owes to his subjects, I mean that of preserving the public peace, and protecting the weaker and more pacific part of the community against the oppression and violence of the stronger." He had not been many weeks in power when there arose the necessity for interfering by force in Bundelkhand, which had, four years previously, been ceded by the Mahrattas. It was studded with numerous fortified droogs, which were held by petty chiefs who kept the country people in the plains in abject terror. A force was sent against the chiefs who refused to submit; two strongholds, Kalinjir and Azighar, were taken

by assault ; and the province restored to quietness and peace.

In the year following Lord Minto's arrival, a sudden disturbance arose in the kingdom of Travancore. The Rajah had permitted all the real power of the realm to pass into the hands of his dewan, who thoroughly abused it, and suffered the kingdom to fall into disorder. An attack was made on the British Resident, who narrowly escaped with his life, and some soldiers and a doctor of an English Regiment were treacherously captured and murdered. A small invading force, under Colonel St. Leger, invaded Travancore, chiefly through the pass leading from Tinnevely, and order was eventually restored. The province was kept for a few years under English management, but it was, in 1813, handed over again to the Rajah, and it has since been one of the most tranquil and enlightened of all the protected states.

The most serious disturbance of the time, however, arose from the English officers themselves. Sir George Barlow, the Governor of Madras, was most unpopular, and, during the time of his government, a sad collision occurred between the civil and the military authorities. It began with a question regarding the Tent Contract, being an allowance which the commanding officers of regiments received for providing tents for their men. The Commander-in-Chief had quite recently been deprived by the Court of Directors of his seat in Council. In many instances the sepoys were induced to follow their officers in acts of insubordination. At Masulipatam there was open mutiny, and at Secunderabad and in other places there was a very near approach to civil war. Lord Minto, who was determined to uphold the hands of the civil power, though he was particularly anxious to maintain a most conciliatory attitude, thought it right to go straight to Madras, and sift the whole matter thoroughly. He embarked for Madras on August 5, 1809, and remained there fourteen months. After some time the irritation and excitement of this painful mutiny passed away ; and, perhaps, the best thing left behind it by it is the admirable

state-paper written by the Governor-General on the subject.

While he was at Madras Lord Minto's son^d and secretary, the Honorable John Elliot, married the daughter of Mr. Casamaijor, M. C. S., and, soon after his return to Calcutta, his second son, the Honorable Captain George Elliot, of the Royal Navy, also married. Both his daughters-in-law had rooms assigned to them in Government House. He was pleased to have them with him, and declared that his residence was much improved in cheerfulness and comfort. "I have occasion for all the comforts I can snatch, for my work is hard and fatiguing to both body and spirit, not by bodily exercise, but by the effect of mental labour on a body entirely at rest. I am as entirely done up by ten o'clock as if I had been all day on the Moors," referring to the mountain sides in the highlands of Scotland, where gentlemen delight, at certain seasons, to walk and shoot. "However," he adds, "I have a quiet sort of contentedness, and spectator-like enjoyment of all the happiness about me, which serves my turn." He was, however, though cheerfully doing his duty, what is usually called, very home sick. He was actually counting the days to the anticipated time of his return.

The foreign policy of Lord Minto was entirely influenced by the prevailing dread of French pretensions and fear of invasion. In the early part of his administration, he decided on sending two embassies to kingdoms on the frontier of India, each with the object of counteracting the intrigues of the French. These embassies were sent to Ranjit Singh, the Maharajah of the Panjab, to Shah Shuja, the Ameer of Kabul, and to the Shah of Persia. Lord Minto took the greatest pains in selecting the best and ablest officers for these important and delicate duties. For the embassy to the Panjab he selected Mr. Metcalfe, who had been trained by the Marquis Wellesley, and who afterwards filled many high offices in the State. Mr. Metcalfe was only twenty-three years of age, but he displayed singular patience, skill, and tact in the conduct of the difficult task entrusted to him. On April 25, 1809, a

treaty was entered into, in which Ranjit Singh agreed not to interfere with the chiefs on the south of the river Sutlej, and perpetual amity was established between the British Government and himself, no invading army being permitted to pass through his territory. The great ruler, the Lion of the Panjab, most scrupulously kept this treaty.

Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, another distinguished civilian who rose to eminence, was entrusted with the embassy to Kabul. He was not so successful as Mr. Metcalfe had been in the Panjab. He did not go further than Peshawar, where he had interviews with the Amir, and obtained his object; but, before the treaty could be ratified, the Amir had been defeated by his brother, who had usurped the throne, and he had fled for refuge across the Indus. The chief result of this mission was the admirable history of Afghanistan, which Mr. Elphinstone wrote from the materials he was able to obtain at Peshawar.

The third embassy, that to the Court of Persia, was much more difficult and complicated. Lord Minto chose Colonel Malcolm to conduct it; but another ambassador was sent from England without his knowledge, and the Governor-General was most anxious to prevent any collision, or, as he called it, jostling between the two ambassadors, yet there was much friction between these two officers as well as between the two Governments which they represented. This is not the place to enter into this bygone controversy, so it will suffice to state that, so far as Lord Minto was concerned, his only object was to maintain the dignity of the high office he occupied. A treaty was eventually concluded, in which the name of Russia was substituted for that of France, all fear of the latter country having disappeared by the time it was ratified.

The chief feature of Lord Minto's rule, however, was his vigorous and decided action with regard to the French colonial possessions in the India and China seas. The two islands, Mauritius and Bourbon, but particularly the former, were of great service to France in harbouring ships of war which were employed in attacking the English fleets on their way to and from India. Both these islands were taken by a

force sent from this country, Lord Minto acting entirely on his own responsibility, which, as he himself expressed it, "a strong sense of duty to the public had induced him to undertake." A month after the expedition had sailed, instructions were received from England recommending him to follow the course that he had already adopted.

The conquest of Holland by Napoleon had placed the Dutch colonies in his possession, and, therefore, it was necessary to make an endeavour at once to capture them. The principal of these was Java. The Governor-General determined himself to accompany the very efficient army which was embarked for the purpose of attacking that island. He went on board the frigate "Modeste," commanded by his second son, being the same vessel in which he had sailed from England, and he much enjoyed the change which the voyage afforded from his usual official routine. The ship touched at Penang and Malacca. An amusing account of the arrival of the fleet at the latter place was written by a Malay, and translated into English by Mr. J. T. Thomson under the title of *Hakayit Abdulla*, from which we extract the following simple description of the great man from an outside point of view. "Thousands," he wrote, "had collected at the sea-shore to have a sight of him and his dress, his name being great. At the time of his leaving his ship the cannon roared like thunder—the sea became dark with smoke. When I had seen the appearance and circumstance of Lord Minto, I was much moved; for I guessed in my mind as to his position and height that these must be great and his dress gorgeous. But his appearance was of one that was middle-aged, thin in body, of soft manners and sweet countenance, and I felt that he could not carry thirty pounds, so slow was his motion. His coat was black cloth, his trousers the same, nor was there anything peculiar. Now he had not the remotest appearance of pomposity or lofty headedness; but there was real modesty and kindly expression."

The island of Java was commanded by General Janssens, who had been appointed by Napoleon, and who had

endeavoured to put it into the best possible state of defence. Strong fortifications had been erected at Fort Cornelis, eight miles inland from the capital, Batavia. The invading force landed near the capital, which at once surrendered, and on August 26, 1811, the above fort was, after a gallant defence, captured by the troops under Sir Samuel Auchmuty, Colonel Gillespie, who had, rescued the survivors from the mutiny of Vellore, having particularly distinguished himself by his bravery. The French general was sent to England as prisoner, and Lord Minto was careful generously to describe him as a virtuous, just, and brave man and a wise and even enlightened statesman. The island was annexed to the East India Company's territories, Mr. Raffles, afterwards Sir Stamford Raffles, being appointed Lieutenant-Governor, subordinate to the Government of Bengal, and Colonel Gillespie, commandant of the troops. The English Government were at first disinclined for annexation; but it remained under English management till the end of the war in 1814, when it was restored to the Dutch. Before leaving Batavia the Governor-General remarked to a resident that he did not think it was likely that the island would remain long in possession of the English, but, he added, "while we are here, let us do as much good as we can." Most admirable arrangements were made for its good government, and, as Sir Stamford Raffles said, he showed "a tender and parental care for the island; the European community was saved by his humanity; for the native administration principles were laid down on which the whole of the present structure has been raised; and, in every instance, a wish was evinced of improving the successes of war, as much in favour of the conquered as of the conqueror."

Lord Minto returned to Calcutta, after an absence of several months, at the end of 1811. While absent he had heard the tidings of the death of his youngest son, which deeply affected him. His yearnings for home seemed to grow stronger, and a shade of melancholy tinged his private correspondence. During the last two years of his government, no very important public events occurred.

The Mahratta princes were gradually growing more restless, and the Pindaris, chiefly under Karim Khan and Cheetoo, were beginning to be troublesome. The Governor-General clearly saw the evils which were likely to ensue from too rigorously adhering to the principle of never interfering in the affairs of the neighbouring states, and plainly wrote to the Court of Directors on the subject in terms of grave warning. The depredations of dacoits in British territory, however, he put down with firm and unsparing hand.

In June, 1812, Lord Minto was gratified by receiving from the Prime Minister of England "a full and handsome acknowledgment" of all his services, and he was rewarded by the thanks of parliament and a step in the peerage, being created as a mark of his sovereign's approbation, Viscount Melgund and Earl of Minto. He had, as we have seen, been eagerly looking forward to the time of his return, and the date he had always fixed was mentioned in his letters frequently, namely, January 1, 1814. He had, in fact, sent in his resignation for about that period. He was, however, rather mortified to find that, before it had been received, his successor, in the person of the Earl of Moira, had already been appointed at the earnest request of the Prince Regent, who considered himself indebted to that nobleman. Yet the longing for home did not lose its force. "I am at my old work," he writes to his wife, "of counting days and weeks with painful earnestness. I have opened a new account for November instead of January, "meaning that he hoped to leave in the former, instead of the latter month." "I dare hardly let my thoughts loose upon the end of our wanderings and separation, because it makes me downright giddy; and yet I seldom miss a night dreaming of home." At length the expected time drew near. Lord Moira reached India, and assumed charge of the Government on October 4, 1813. The subject of our memoir returned to England in the "Hussar," another frigate commanded by his son, and arrived in London on May 18, 1814. Next day he writes, "Yesterday was indeed one of the very

happiest days of my life; but there is one happier still in store," meaning reunion with his dearly loved wife, who remained in Scotland to greet him there. She, on her part, wrote in reply, "I can hardly breathe or speak or think, or believe that all my cares, all my wishes, and all my anxieties are whisked away in a moment by the most delightful certainty that here you are in our own little island safe and sound." All these anticipations of pleasure on both sides were quietly ended by One who knew better than either what was right. Lord Minto remained in London visiting and greeting his old friends, and waiting on those in authority. June 3 was the date fixed for his departure from London; but, on May, 28, his brother-in-law, Lord Auckland, died suddenly, and, in order to comfort his sister in her grief, and to attend the funeral, he at once postponed his departure. He caught a severe cold at the funeral, which took place at Beckenham, several miles from London, and in a few days he himself was very ill. Notwithstanding his severe illness, he was so anxious to leave London and to fulfil his one desire "to see the person on whom his thoughts were ever fixed," that he was permitted to leave; but, on reaching Stevenage, a village in Hertfordshire, on the great northern road, he was utterly prostrated. There, on June 21, he lay down to die. There is something touchingly pathetic in this death. The reunion to which he had looked forward ardently through so many years of exile was never to be enjoyed in this life.

Thus closed in touching sorrow the life of one who had served his country well. Lord Minto was a good, but not a great, man. He stood high in the second rank of English statesmen. No very startling event arose during his administration to elicit the highest qualities of a ruler. The way in which he dealt with discontent in Corsica and with the mutiny in Madras shows that he possessed great powers of conciliation, composure of mind, and command of temper. As a young man, he was very retiring, silent, and even reserved, and, at one time, he accused himself of indolence, but many men do that without sufficient reason, and certainly he did not show any want of diligence and applica-

tion in the duties of the State. He possessed a temper of unfailing sweetness, and was most affectionate and tender in all the domestic relations of life. He was also a man of considerable culture. During the monotonous hours past on board ship during the expedition against Java, he employed himself in very extensive reading. He mentions having at that time read through the whole of the works of the famous Latin author Cicero in twenty volumes, and having thoroughly enjoyed them. Perhaps, his fame as Governor-General of India might have stood higher if it had not come almost immediately between the strong rule of two such men as the Marquis Wellesley and the Marquis of Hastings.



MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

VI.—THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

A. D. 1754 TO 1826.

“ It is a proud phrase to use, but it is a true one, that we have bestowed blessings upon millions. Multitudes have, even in this short interval, come from the hills and fastnesses in which they had sought refuge for years, and have re-occupied their ancient deserted villages. The ploughshare is again in every quarter turning up a soil which had for many seasons never been stirred, except by the hoofs of predatory cavalry.”

Lord Hastings.

THESE words occur in a reply by the Marquis of Hastings to an address presented to him by the inhabitants of Calcutta at the end of the great Mahratta war. We place them at the head of this sketch of the life of Lord Hastings, because they admirably sum up in three sentences the very great benefits conferred on India by the careful and far-seeing statesmanship of one of her most distinguished Governors-General, and by the war which he was reluctantly compelled to wage. They clearly express also the inestimable blessings which have been conferred on India generally by British rule. We admit that there may be a reverse to this estimate of India's gain from the point of view of some of India's best and greatest sons ; but it should never be forgotten that the blessing of peace is one of the greatest benefits that can be bestowed on a nation, because it makes other blessings possible.

The family name of the Marquis of Hastings was Rawdon. He was the son of Sir John Rawdon, who was raised to the peerage as Baron Rawdon, and afterwards as Earl of Moira in the county of Down in Ireland. His mother was Lady Elizabeth Hastings, daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon. Through her he inherited some of the titles and estates of this celebrated English family. The future Governor-General was born December 7, 1754, and after having been at the University of Oxford at a much earlier

age than young men now go there, he entered the English army as an ensign in the 15th regiment in the seventeenth year of his age. Two years afterwards, he obtained a lieutenancy in another regiment, and embarked for America, where the War of Independence was then raging. He was engaged in many of the battles that took place in that war, during the next nine years of his life, and much distinguished himself in his military profession. The first battle in which he was engaged was the well-known one at Bunker's Hill, and General Burgoyne, the British commander, was so gratified at his courage and conduct that he particularly mentioned him in his despatches to England, using this memorable expression,—“Lord Rawdon has this day stamped his name for life.” It may be noticed here that another Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, distinguished himself in the same action. It will be observed that the subject of this memoir was then called Lord Rawdon, because his father had been created Earl of Moira when he was eight years old, and he then, as eldest son, assumed his father's second title.

For a time Lord Rawdon served as Aid-de-camp to Sir Henry Clinton, the Commander-in-Chief of the British army in America; and, later on, he acted as Adjutant-General to the forces in that country. He was engaged in most of the battles fought during that sad civil war; but the measure by which he was best known at the time, was his having raised a special corps of soldiers at Philadelphia, called the Volunteers of Ireland, which was eminently distinguished by its services in the field. At first there were a good many desertions; but, on one occasion, a man was caught in the act of going over to the enemy, and Lord Rawdon left the decision of his case entirely to the men of the regiment themselves. All the officers were withdrawn, and the private soldiers, thus left to themselves, decided that a deserter should not be permitted to live, and he was accordingly executed then and there.

Later on, Lord Rawdon commanded one of the wings of the army in the memorable battle of Cowden on August 16, 1780; and, as Lord Cornwallis was then the Commander-

in-Chief, there again occurred the curious coincidence of two future Governors-General in high command in the same battle. On April 25, 1781, Lord Rawdon, being left in command of a much inferior force to that of the enemy, handled his troops so skilfully that he gained the victory; but this was of little avail in its influence on the whole war, as the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis rendered all the successes of his lieutenants nugatory.

In 1782 Lord Rawdon was obliged to return to England by a dangerous attack of illness. On his voyage across the Atlantic, the vessel was taken by a French ship, and carried into the harbour of Brest. He was there detained as a prisoner, but he was soon released. On reaching England he received many marks of distinction from the King, who appointed him one of his Aid-de-camps, and, on March 5, 1783, made him an English peer, thus enabling him to sit in the English House of Lords. He attended the business and the debates there with great regularity, and often joined in the discussions with ability, showing himself to be a clear and forcible debater. During this time he laid the foundation of an excellent reputation for sound and reliable statesmanship. The principal monument of his labours at this period of his life was a Bill for the relief of persons who were imprisoned for small debts. This was a philanthropic and benevolent act, for the condition of poor debtors was in those days most deplorable.

Lord Rawdon became very intimate with the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, the two elder sons of the King. He was very active in favour of the former during the debates on the question of the Regency, when the mind of George the Third for a time gave way. His intimacy and friendship with the Prince continued without interruption. He appears to have been equally intimate with the Prince's younger brother, the Duke of York. It was a very sad custom in those days, and one which we consider most unbecoming in any one who is even called a Christian, to fight duels. When any one thought himself insulted by anything said by another, who refused to offer an apology,

the two persons fought, either with swords or pistols, and two other gentlemen stood near them during the encounter in order to see that every thing was conducted fairly. The two latter were called 'seconds.' In May, 1789, a quarrel took place between the Duke of York and a Col. Lennox, the former having made a statement which the latter thought insulting. Lord Rawdon attended the Duke as his 'second,' when a duel was fought. Colonel Lennox fired his pistol and missed his Royal Highness; but the latter refused to fire in return, because he had merely consented to fight so as to give his opponent satisfaction, though he felt no enmity or ill-will against him. After this foolish, but dangerous, proceeding had taken place, the parties did not meet again, but declared themselves satisfied! Lord Rawdon and the other 'second' issued a paper for the benefit of the public to state that both combatants had behaved with the most perfect coolness and intrepidity; but the officers of Colonel Lennox's regiment were nearer the truth when they said he had acted with courage, but not with judgment.

On June 20, 1793, Lord Rawdon succeeded his father as Earl of Moira. In the autumn of that year he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of an army which was intended to assist the loyalists in Brittany, where they were waging an unequal contest with the Republican party in France. Many of the ancient nobility of that country were to serve under him. The expedition was, however, entirely abandoned, as the Royalists had been subdued before effectual measures had been taken to succour them. On February 14, 1794, he gave in the House of Lords an account of this project, and, with his usual chivalry of character, took on himself the whole responsibility of the measures adopted, and earnestly requested that the names of the French noblemen who were to have helped him might not, for obvious reasons, be made public. That summer he was sent in command of a force of 10,000 men to reinforce the army of the Duke of York and of his allies in Flanders. He was much commended at the time for the rapidity with which this force was taken from Southampton to Ostend, and

with which a junction with the Duke was effected. He soon afterwards returned to England.

During the next few years Lord Moira was most regular in the discharge of his parliamentary duties, and became very popular in presiding at social meetings. In 1797 a speech delivered by him on the state of Ireland was printed; but in the following year a pamphlet from his pen was published, in which matters of still greater public interest were discussed. It appears that certain statesmen had met for the purpose of forming a new administration under the king, so many being dissatisfied with the conduct of Mr. Pitt on one side and of Mr. Fox on the other, and that they were anxious for Lord Moira to be prime minister. He consented; but desired, if this scheme were successful, not to belong to any party in the state, and to be ready at any moment to retire in favour of any fitter person who might be found by the Parliament or the king. The chief object aimed at was the endeavour to procure immediate peace in the war then being carried on between England and France. These negotiations show the generous and disinterested side of Lord Moira's character, though we agree with Lord Cornwallis in thinking that there was a great measure of temerity even in entertaining the idea that he was equal to such a position. A similar proposal was made to him after the assassination of Mr. Percival in 1812; but it was again found to be impracticable.

In 1803 the Earl of Moira was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Scotland. On July 12, 1804, he was married to the Countess of Loudon, the Prince of Wales, afterwards King George the Fourth, performing that part of the ceremony which is known among the English as giving the bride away. This lady was a peeress in her own right; and, therefore, so long as her husband remained the Earl of Moira, she retained her own title, instead of taking his. His married life was most happy, and we shall have occasion later on to show from his *Private Journal* how deeply attached he was to his wife, and how much her presence added to the enjoyment of his sojourn in India,

and how much he felt her loss when she was compelled to leave him. In 1806 the party with which he usually acted having come into power, he received the office of Master-General of the Ordnance, which he retained until the ministry with which he was thus connected went out of office. There is but little to record regarding Lord Moira's life during the few years that intervened between this appointment and the still higher one of Governor-General of Bengal, which he received in the year 1813, on the resignation of Lord Minto. No diary, if any was kept by him during these years, has been published; but during the greater part of his stay in India he kept a very full and interesting journal, which gives us a clear insight into his character, and a good account of his travels in the country. In fact, we get from it just the view of the history of India at that period which we require, namely, that from the Government House at Calcutta and from the Governor-General's tent during his progresses. At his own request he held the appointment of Commander-in-Chief as well as that of Governor-General.

He left England, accompanied by his wife and their three eldest children, on board a ship of war, called "The Stirling Castle," on April 14, 1813. They reached Madras on September 11, remaining there a week, and took over charge of the Government from Lord Minto on October 4. He was soon in the thick of work, and found how laborious and arduous it was. In case any one should imagine that this high office is one merely of dignity and show, it will be well to quote the new Governor-General's impressions on this point. "The situation of a Governor-General," he writes, "if he really fulfil his duties, is one of the most laborious that can be conceived. The short periods for the exercise indispensable to health and for meals, can barely be afforded." His first impressions in other respects need not be quoted. He came out at the mature age of fifty-nine and continuously remained at his post, which grew, as the time went on, more and more laborious; but at that age, though the judgment in business and in political matters may be

mature, yet the ideas regarding men and their manners have become fixed, and Lord Moira conceived very erroneous notions about the inhabitants of India, which probably were much toned down before he left his high office. He showed himself, however, most kind and considerate in his treatment of all classes, especially of the princes and chieftains with whom he came in contact. There will be an opportunity hereafter of giving some instances of this. He was, however, most courtly and stately in his manner, and fully maintained the dignity of his position as the representative of his country and his king.

It is necessary to give a brief sketch of the political condition of India on Lord Moira's arrival. It will be remembered that the chief events of his predecessor's administration were the protection of India from the real or the imaginary designs of France against it, and the capture of the possessions of France and those countries that were under her influence. The policy urged upon him by the Court of Directors was strict neutrality with regard to the great Hindu and Muhammadan states. Lord Minto had generally carried out this policy, though he was not very satisfied with its soundness; but his hands were too fully occupied elsewhere, and the pecuniary resources of the Government of India were too low, to admit of his doing more than remonstrating with the authorities in England. On the Earl of Moira's arrival, he found the finances of British India in a very poor condition, and at the same time there was an uneasy feeling of insecurity throughout all the neighbouring states. Just at the moment of his taking charge of the government, there were seven distinct disputes which might at any moment have led to the necessity for war. But there was more than this. One very formidable power had arisen during the last few years. It was not a settled state with an orderly form of Government, nor one of the great nations which might at any moment stand forth as claiming the sovereignty of India. It consisted of bands of marauding robbers, called the Pindaris, who, under a few desperate and determined leaders, rapidly roved through Central India, oppressing

and plundering the people, and sometimes penetrating even into British territories and into countries protected by the British Government. Some of the Mahratta rulers encouraged and even assisted them.

The Hindu and Muhammadan states at that time were of four kinds. Those that were connected with the British Government by what were called subsidiary treaties; those that were protected by the Government without such treaties; those that were in alliance with the Government, but without any direct intercourse with it, except sometimes by a Resident living at the Rajah's court; and independent states. The principal of the first kind of state were those of the Nizam and the Peshwa, and the best known of the third kind were those of Scindia, Holkar, and the Rajah of Nagpore. Three of these states were, it will be seen, Mahratta. Active intrigues were going on among them against the English power. This feeling was increasing day by day. The policy of neutrality fomented it; and, at the same time, there was a strong desire apparent to retrieve the reverses which they had sustained during the last Mahratta war, and to set up once more a Mahratta empire. Lord Moira's experienced and soldierly eye at once perceived that there were around him the elements of a war more general than any which the English had yet encountered in India; and, from the very first, he calmly and quietly set himself the task of preparing for it. The preparations took a long time; but they were made surely and effectually. He soon saw that the only right policy was to make the British Government paramount, and to sweep away the old fiction of the suzerainty of the Emperor of Delhi. As early as the February after his arrival, he wrote in his private journal the scheme he had in view from the beginning, because, as he added, "it is always well to ascertain to oneself what one would precisely desire, had one the means of commanding the issue." That scheme was that "we should hold all other states as vassals, in substance though not in name; but possessed of perfect internal sovereignty, and only bound to repay the guarantee and protection of their possessions by the

British Government with the pledge of two great feudal duties. First, they should support it with all their forces on any call. Second, they should submit their mutual differences to the head of the confederacy (our Government), without attacking each other's territories." Such was the object at which from the very first the new Governor-General steadily aimed.

On June 24, 1814, Lord Moira started on a prolonged tour to the North-West in order that he might observe the state of affairs for himself, and visit the principal military stations. Just before he left Calcutta, a very strong representation was made to the Court of Directors as to the actual condition of India. The Governor-General thoroughly enjoyed this tour. Lady London and their children accompanied him. They went in two large budgerows, attended by a flotilla of more than two hundred boats. The voyage was in those days very long, because they had to depend on the wind; but it was most delightful, as the tediousness of the voyage was diversified by rides and walks on the banks of the Ganges, and by shooting parties and excursions to some little distance from the river. At the large stations and cantonments there were great ceremonies and reviews, and wherever there was a Rajah or a Nawab to visit, there were nautches and other entertainments. The party took nearly four months going from Calcutta to Cawnpore, arriving at the latter place on October 8. On the way Lord Moira visited the battle-field of Plassey, and the monument to Mr. Cleveland at Bhagalpore, where the memory of that very promising young statesman was still green. The new Governor-General's kindly demeanour and courtly manners charmed all the Hindu and Muhammadan princes. He laid himself out to be most conciliatory, as he frequently states in his journal how anxious he was, not only to have stately ceremonies when needful, but to go out of his way even to express his satisfaction at the usual attentions and courtesies of his visitors. This is just what should always be. The whole of Lord Moira's private journal is studded with instances of this kindness and consideration for the feelings

of others. He was also very careful not to accept expensive *nazars* from the various Princes, Rajahs, and Nawabs who came to visit him.

On October 25, the Earl of Moira, entered Lucknow in state on a visit to the Nawab Vizier, and remained there until November 12. His visit was a great political event. The Nawab had died while the Governor-General was on his upward journey, and the latter had advised his son, on his succession, not to seek the confirmation of his title by the Emperor of Delhi, which was, in itself, an act significant of the new order of things in India. During his sojourn at Lucknow Lord Moira stayed in the beautiful palace of Constantia, which had been built by General Martin, a French officer who had been high in the service and the favour of former Nawabs of Oudh. The account Lord Moira gave in his journal of the magnificence of his reception at Lucknow is most interesting, especially, when compared with the history of the memorable siege of the Residency just forty-three years afterwards.

While at Lucknow, the Governor-General received the news of the death of General Gillespie during the assault of Kalunga in Nepaul. Before leaving Calcutta he had been compelled, in order to maintain the honour of England, to declare war against the Regent and Government of that country. The Goorkhas had been successful in the campaigns against their near neighbours, and, flushed with these victories, had ventured to take possession of two districts near Goruckpore, which had been ceded to the British Government by the Nawab of Oudh. This was the occasion of the war. Four compact British armies entered the mountainous country of Nepal in four different directions. Three of them were unsuccessful, being under the direction of incompetent commanders, who were unaccustomed to the difficulties and novelty of mountain warfare. The Governor-General had clearly impressed upon them, and particularly on General Gillespie, the importance of not assaulting by storm strong hill fortresses which required to be reduced by the use of artillery. General Gillespie had disobeyed this order, and the Governor-General keenly felt

not only the loss of such a very courageous and distinguished officer, but also the discredit which such disasters brought on the British arms. The fourth division under the careful leading of General Ochterlony was successful in the west of Nepal. The disasters in other places were retrieved, and by the middle of 1815, the Nepalese were prepared to enter into negotiations. It required a second campaign, however, effectually to reduce them. Their envoys declined, at the eleventh hour, to sign a treaty. The second campaign was most skilfully conducted by General, now Sir David Ochterlony; the Government of Nepal was brought to listen to reason; and the Goorkhas have since enlisted largely in the British army, and have proved themselves hardy and courageous soldiers in many campaigns.

The reverses in this war were a heavy weight on Lord Moira's mind. They caused much disaffection and intrigue, particularly among the Mahratta princes. The Governor-General's attention was at the time fully occupied in other quarters, so that no wonder he wrote in his journal words of depression such as these:—"The cloud which overhangs us is imposing. The exigencies of the war with the Goorkhas, whose successes have intimidated our troops and our Generals, have forced me to send into the hills everything that was dispensable, because it would be the first step to a speedy subversion of our power, were we to be foiled in that struggle. With a deeply anxious heart I am keeping up an air of indifference and confidence, and I am convinced that I thence am supposed to possess ample resources." The lack of money in the treasury had been remedied by a loan of a crore of rupees from the Nawab of Oudh, which his father had offered to give, in order, as Lord Moira wrote, "to mark his gratitude for my having treated him as a gentleman." The loan was afterwards doubled. During these wars and continual rumours of wars, the Governor-General continued his peaceful progress. From Lucknow he marched by easy stages to some of the principal towns in the North-West of India. The furthest limit of his journey was the city of pilgrims.

Hurdwar, where the viceregal party spent Christmas, 1814, and then he returned to Futtehghar, where he embarked for Calcutta, which he reached on October 9, 1815, and landed in state. At Karnal he received at this durbar several of the Sikh chieftains, notably the then Maharajah of Patiala. Each presented him with a bow, observing that there was added no arrow, to signify that they themselves were the arrows to be directed against any foe. Lord Moira seemed particularly struck with their manly bearing. Lady Loudon visited Delhi as the party past that celebrated city ; but the Governor-General determined that it was advisable for him not to visit the titular Emperor, who declined to receive him as an equal, and he was quite convinced of the foolishness of keeping up the impolitic farce of acknowledging the Emperor as the lord paramount of the British Government. The stately progress of the very large viceregal camp and the heavy strain of political business were lightened by shooting excursions. On one occasion the Governor-General shot two lionesses. The return journey was not marked by any very important events.

The year 1816 opened in a very sad manner for Lord Moira. His wife and children were obliged to return to England, his only son having been very ill on the passage down the river, and his affectionate heart deeply felt the parting. On January 1, he wrote in the following sad strain :—"Never before did a year open to me with such chilling prospects. In a few days my wife and children, the only comforts by which I am attached to this world, are to embark for England." He adds, however, with an effort, when remembering his duty, "Nothing will remain to cheer me under unremitting and thankless labour ; yet I feel a bond that will never allow me to relax in effort as long as my health will suffice. I at times endeavour to arouse myself with the hope that I may succeed in establishing such institutions, and still more such dispositions, as will promote the happiness of the vast population of this country ; but, when the thought has glowed for a moment, it is dissipated by the austere verdict of reason

against the efficacy of exertion from an atom like myself." On the 15th he accompanied his family down the river towards the ship which was to take them to sea, and two days afterwards returned to Calcutta. "Prepared as I was," he again writes in his diary, "I have been quite stupified at this fulfilment of our own determination, and I only feel the confused soreness of a blow, the real mischief of which I have not recollection to appreciate. How little an exercise of thought shows one the certainty that all apparently rigid destinations of the Almighty are kindness." And so, he returns to the City of Palaces, to brace himself, as so many Englishmen in humbler positions in India have so frequently to do, by renewed application to his duty and his work.

This the Governor-General did with hearty good will. With the exception of a shooting excursion for a few weeks, the following eighteen months were spent in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, and he was fully occupied in the pressing duties of his high position. Events were occurring which were rapidly leading up to the severest struggle that had yet taken place in the history of British India, and the Governor-General knew that the time, which he had clearly foreseen since his arrival, was drawing near; when the English power must be paramount throughout the whole country. We have already mentioned the depredations of the Pindaris, the intrigues of the Mahrattas, and the distrust which the neutral policy of the Court of Directors had universally caused. A perfect network of intrigue was woven all over Central India. A wide-spread conspiracy against the English Government was becoming stronger every day, and it would have been all the more formidable if there had not been mutual jealousies between the Mahratta States themselves. Every phase of this conspiracy was known to the Governor-General, who was fortunate in having most eminent statesmen at the various Mahratta Courts. Clear statements of the position of affairs were made to the Court of Directors, and their sanction to hostilities was reluctantly obtained. Meanwhile, the Governor-General, who had been raised a step in the

peerage under the title of the Marquis of Hastings, had taken the matter into his own hands. For several months, or, rather, years he had, as we have seen, been quietly making preparations for war. The ostensible reason for action was the open and impudent attacks of the Pindaris even on the Company's territories. They made a bold and rapid dash into the Northern Circars, plundering Guntoor, and leaving behind them more than three hundred desolated villages. Within a few months, Lord Hastings had made his arrangements, and troops amounting to several thousands were ordered to converge towards Central India from Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. Their avowed object was to break up the numerous hordes of Pindaris, but they were also intended to watch and overawe the armies of the disaffected Mahratta princes. We have not space to describe in detail the great Mahratta war which ensued, so we propose to view it from the tent of the Governor-General, who, being also Commander-in-Chief, himself directed the operations in the field, and, for this purpose, accompanied in person the great army which was assembled in the North-West.

Lord Hastings left Calcutta on July 8th, 1817. The simple entry in his journal is given, because it shows the spirit in which he started:—"Embarked from Calcutta for the Upper Provinces, with the fervent hope that I may be the humble instrument for extinguishing an evil which has been a bitter scourge to humanity." He proceeded slowly up the Ganges to Cawnpore by boat, and marched thence with the troops on October 16. Crossing the Jumna by a bridge of boats, he went straight towards Gwalior. The object of this rapid march was to overawe Scindia, who had been detected in intriguing with the Rajah of Nepal, and had given direct aid and encouragement to the Pindaris. Completely disconcerted by the rapidity of this advance, Doulat Rao Scindia thought it advisable to come to terms at once, and, when the Governor-General's force had arrived within two marches of his capital, Gwalior, he signed a treaty which had the effect of putting him completely within the power

of the English Government. He gave free permission for the English troops to pass through his dominions in pursuit of the Pindaris, he agreed to remain neutral during the war, and to give up temporary possession of two strong fortresses, Hindia and Aseerghur, which commanded the fair valley between the Nerbudda and the Tapti. On receiving this treaty Lord Hastings remarked, "I should have thought myself oppressive had Scindia not been so thoroughly false." A little further on in his journal he adds these words, which are quoted to show the spirit he felt, when he considered the vast campaign in which the English forces were then engaged: "We are in a fair way of achieving arrangements," he wrote, "which will afford quiet and safety to millions who have long been writhing under the scourge of the predatory powers (the Mahrattas and Amcer Khan), as well as under the ferocious cruelty of the Pindaris. I trust that my soul is adequately grateful to the Almighty for allowing me to be the humble instrument of a change beneficial to so many of my fellow-creatures."

The end thus desired was not far off, but a few months of sharp struggle intervened before it was fully accomplished. We now turn our attention further south—to Poona, the capital of the Peshwa, Baji Rao. This sovereign was the very centre of Mahratta intrigue. He was in close correspondence with Scindia and the Rajah of Nagpore. For the past four years, in fact, even since Lord Hastings' arrival in India, he had been scheming for a revival of Mahratta power. His chief favourite and adviser was a worthless courtier, named Trimbakji Dainglia, who had been banished at the command of the able Resident, the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone. This favourite had effected his escape, and the intrigues at the Court of the Peshwa had burst out with redoubled virulence. In June, 1817, the Peshwa had signed a treaty, binding himself to have no dealings with Trimbakji, formally to relinquish all claim to the headship of the Mahratta confederacy, and to cede certain territory to the Company. This treaty was signed under compulsion, for Baji Rao had no inten-

tion of fulfilling it, if he could by any means wriggle out of it. He was watching his opportunity. This soon came. The force at Poona was weakened by a portion of it starting under General Smith to take part in the general Pindari campaign. Foreseeing the outbreak, Mr. Elphinstone removed the British Cantonment to Kirki, two miles west of Poona, and situated on a bend of the river, and summoned a European regiment from Bombay. The Residency was attacked on November 5, 1817, and Mr. Elphinstone had only just time to quit it, and to retire to the small English force. After a short, sharp action, the vast Mahratta army was defeated. In a few days General Smith returned with his division, the city of Poona was taken, and the Peshwa left it precipitately as a fugitive. He was dethroned, and the greater part of his dominions annexed, while a descendant of the great Mahratta conqueror Sivaji was created Rajah of Satara. A few months afterwards Baji Rao surrendered, and was granted a handsome pension. There is no doubt that the whole of his misfortunes were due to his duplicity and deceit. Lord Hastings was still in camp not far from Gwalior, when he received the tidings of the battle of Kirki and the fall of Poona.

A few days afterwards he heard of equally stirring events at Nagpore. The late Raja of Nagpore had died in March 1816, and had been succeeded by an imbecile son. A cousin of the latter, named Appa Sahib, had been appointed Regent, and it was with him that a subsidiary alliance was made, through which he hoped to secure the help of the British Government in his design on the throne. This treaty was regarded by Lord Hastings with much satisfaction. "Thus I have been enabled," he wrote, "to effect what has been fruitlessly laboured at for twelve years. Scindia's designs on Nagpore, as well as the Peshwa's, are defeated, and the interception of the Pindaris is rendered certain." These words proved to be quite true, but not in the way the Governor-General anticipated. In February, 1817, the poor imbecile Raja was found dead, and his death had been occasioned by his treacherous

cousin's command. Appa Sahib's manner towards the British Government changed from that moment. He cordially entered into the plans of the Peshwa, and joined the conspiracy against the English power. Though the Peshwa was in arms against it, he pompously accepted honours from him, and treacherously attacked the Residency. Mr. Jenkins was the Resident, and he was as able and courageous as his brother-civilian at Poona. The Residency, which was a little distance from the town and separated from it by a ridge called the Seetabuldee Hills, was attacked on November 16. The overwhelming number of the enemy nearly carried every thing before it; but a bold charge of the Bengal cavalry under Captain Fitzgerald completely retrieved the day. Reinforcements rapidly came up, and in a few days Mr. Jenkins was in a position to dictate terms to the Raja. He was restored for a time, but continued his intrigues. He was then dethroned and sent in captivity to Allahabad; but he effected his escape on the way, and finally fled to the Panjab. The repulse of the Nagpore army at Seetabuldee was, as Lord Hastings called it in his journal, a glorious effort of bravery on the part of our troops.

The tidings of further victories cheered the heart of the Governor-General, while still in camp, watching Scindia, and keeping him effectually in check. Holkar was another of the great Mahratta chiefs. Jeswunt Rao Holkar, the former antagonist of Wellesley and Lake, died in 1811. One of his wives, named Tulsai Bhai, assumed the government of his dominions in the name of her step-son, the young Raja. She entered heartily into the conspiracy fostered by the Peshwa. The commanders of the several detachments of Holkar's army united their forces on December 16, 1817, and marched towards the Nerbudda in great spirits and in hopes of plunder. On the way they met the army of the Deccan under Sir Thomas Hislop and Sir John Malcolm. They were totally defeated at Mahidpore, a little to the north of Oojein. The feeling of all the Mahratta commanders had been in favour of war, and imagining that Tulsai Bhai had been intriguing with the

English authorities, they had put her to death a few days before the battle. A treaty was afterwards concluded with the young Maharaja Mulhar Rao Holkar. Another of the great Mahratta powers was thus completely broken. The remarks with which Lord Hastings received the news of this victory were :—" The patience and moderation with which we strove to wean that Government from its project of succouring the Peshwa was misconstrued into a doubt of our ability to coerce it, and a tone of the utmost insolence was assumed by Holkar's sirdars."

While the main divisions of the Grand Army were thus successful against the more formidable Mahratta powers, separate detachments paralysed and destroyed the mischievous hordes of the Pindaris. They were completely dispersed, and their chiefs caught like rats in a trap. The most prominent were Cheetoo, Kareem Khan, and Wasil Mahomed. Kareem Khan was caught, and received a small jaghir on the Ganges. Wasil Mahomed was put under restraint at Ghazipore; but being detected in an attempt at escape, he poisoned himself. Cheetoo fled into the jungles, where he was killed by a tiger. Thus every vestige of these enemies of the human race and of their innumerable followers was removed, and a similar gathering of plunderers has never since afflicted India.

While Lord Hastings was in camp near Gwalior, his army was attacked by that sad and mysterious disease, cholera, which has since been so painfully common throughout the land. It was then virtually a new disease. It had before that rarely been heard of. It is now only too well-known. It was not understood at all when it made its appearance in the Governor-General's camp; but frequent changes in the site of the camp and constant care caused its departure. The Governor-General himself was most kind and sympathetic, and indefatigable in his attention to the sick. There were innumerable instances of personal generosity and kindness during this terrible infliction. We cannot forbear mentioning one which was recorded in Lord Hastings' private journal. A soldier in a King's Regiment was being carried sick in a dooly to hospital, when

he observed a sepoy of the escort fall with a sudden seizure. He immediately left his dooly, placed the sepoy in it, and walked by his side.

On the 13th of February, 1818, the Marquis of Hastings began his return march to Calcutta. The war had lasted barely four months ; but, owing to the consummate military skill displayed by the Governor-General, admirably seconded by the various commanders and by the courage of the troops, it was completely successful in that short space of time. When he reached the Jumna on his upward march, the Mahrattas, the Pindaris, and other hostile chiefs had armies of more than 150,000 men with 500 pieces of cannon ready for resistance, and now all had vanished like a morning cloud. The object he had in view had been accomplished, and the power of the British Government was everywhere paramount. We record this achievement in the Governor-General's own words written at the time : " Four months only will have elapsed to-morrow," he wrote on February 19, " since the assembling of this division at Secundra. The actual campaign lasted but three months, and in that short space of time the alteration wrought in Central India is so extraordinary that one feels oneself still too near it to comprehend it thoroughly. In security, in tranquillity, and in revenue, our gain is very great ; in honour, the return is not, I trust, less ample ; for justice and liberality have been as conspicuous as valour in the conduct of all our officers." He reached Calcutta on July 23, and felt deeply touched by the way in which he was received there on his return. " I cannot omit saying," he wrote, " how deeply I felt the behaviour of the immense crowd assembled along the road by which I walked from the ghaut to Government House. All was silence ; but there was something in the kind and respectfully welcoming looks of the poor people infinitely more touching than the loudest shouts of joy could have been." A vote of thanks to the Governor-General and his officers was cordially past in the British Houses of Parliament ; but neither the Court of Directors nor Mr. Canning, the President of the Board of Control could conceal their

disapprobation of his policy or of the extension of territory which had necessarily followed this successful campaign. Nothing was further from Lord Hastings's desire than this increase of the British dominions ; but it was forced upon him by the force of circumstances, and by the fact that no other course could have prevented the well-known treachery of the Mahratta sovereigns.

The Marquis of Hastings, who, in 1819, was rejoined by the Marchioness, remained in India more than four years after the restoration of peace. The colonial possessions of France, Denmark, and Holland were restored to those countries after the treaty of Paris in 1815. Java, which had been taken from the Dutch by Lord Minto, was the most valuable of all these possessions ; but the island of Singapore was, in 1819, ceded to the English by the Raja of Johore, and has ever since been of the greatest importance, owing to its central position in the Eastern seas. The most noteworthy, but, at the same time, the most troublesome event that happened during the latter part of Lord Hastings's administration was connected with the dominions of the Nizam of Hyderabad. For many years they had been virtually under the control of Chundoo Lall, a Hindu in high authority under the nominal Prime Minister. The state groaned under debt and mismanagement, and latterly a large loan on extravagantly exorbitant interest was made to it by Messrs. Palmer and Co., a banking firm at Hyderabad, in which Sir William Palmer was one of the partners. This gentleman had married a ward of Lord Hastings, and this fact let people to believe that the Government were concerned in these usurious loans. Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Resident of Hyderabad, had even incurred the Governor-General's displeasure by the way in which he exposed these loans and put them down. A complete reconciliation between Lord Hastings and his able and trustworthy subordinate was effected before the former quitted India ; and he wrote him a warm and even affectionate letter on the subject ; but the question itself helped to embitter the last days of his long administration. The Court of Directors took the matter up, and the Gov-

ernor-General feeling that he did not possess their full confidence, sent in his resignation. In accepting it, the Court expressed their thanks to him "for the unremitting zeal and eminent ability with which he had administered the Government of British India with such high credit to himself and advantage to the interests of the East India Company." The Proprietors of the Company also placed on record "the expression of their admiration, gratitude, and applause." The Marquis of Hastings laid down the high office which he had held for the very long period of nine years, on the first day of 1823.

He did not remain long unemployed. He was appointed, soon after his return, on March 22, 1824, Governor of the island of Malta, one of the chief British possessions in the Mediterranean Sea. While holding this important appointment, he returned to England for a few months, and, in 1825, he took his seat in the House of Lords for the first time as Marquis of Hastings. He was, at this period, much worried by the charges made against him at the India House. There was considerable ill-will entertained against him on account of the transactions connected with the firm of Messrs. Palmer & Co., at Hyderabad, and the decision of the Court of Proprietors, notwithstanding the brilliant results of his excellent administration, was merely of a negative character, namely that there was no ground for imputing corrupt motives to the late Governor-General—a poor return for his magnificent services. On resuming charge of his Government at Malta, his usual good health failed, and he suffered from an injury caused by a fall from his horse. He died on board His Majesty's ship of war "Revenge" in Baia Bay, off Naples, on his way to England for his health, on November 28, 1826. In a letter found among his papers, he directed that his right hand should be cut off, and buried with Lady Hastings when she also should die.

We hope that the character of Lord Hastings has been clearly brought out in the foregoing sketch. He was a signal instance of what is exceedingly rare, the success of a statesman coming out to India at a rather late period of life.

The conduct of the Mahratta war testified to his great ability as a commander, and his wisdom as an administrator proved him to be no mean successor of Warren Hastings and Wellesley. The empire of which they laid the foundation was enlarged and strengthened by his foresight and untiring energy. There can be doubt that he hit upon the true secret of successful rule in India. England could not be a secondary power there : it must be paramount and supreme. This idea was the key-move of all his policy. He was successful in carrying it out, and the British Government was in a far firmer position when he laid down the reins of power than when he assumed them. He never forgot that he was the representative of his king, and always insisted on the respect and deference which were due to his high office. He was, however, of a most kind and lovable disposition. There are numerous examples in his journal, to which we have so frequently referred, of kind and considerate acts done with the sole object of preventing annoyance and inconvenience to the people. For instance, soon after his arrival, he was much distressed, during a little tour up-country, at observing that two miles of the road to a town had been decorated with plantain trees to make it look like an avenue. No great damage was really done ; but he felt that, as each plantain tree cut down meant so much loss for the year, it was a sacrifice made by the people which put them to much inconvenience. He was most anxious that his tours should cause no loss to any one, and he gave strict orders that his camps should be so managed as to hinder any damage to the crops. If any loss were unavoidably sustained, he directed that full compensation should be given. He was particularly scrupulous in observing all matters of etiquette with regard to the reception of Rajas and Nawabs, and in trying to find out exactly what would gratify each on presentation to him. He instituted the custom of holding durbars specially for the native officers of regiments as well as for the European officers. He was just as careful in his attention to the junior officers as to those holding higher military rank ; and an admirable facility for remembering faces enabled him to say a kindly

word or to do a thoughtful action, and thus made him very popular among all classes of society.

Lord Hastings was wonderfully diligent in business. Coming, as we have said, to India at a comparatively late period of life, and holding the combined offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-chief for over nine years, there was a peculiar strain on his time and health. His constitution must have been very strong to bear it. He rose early, and was generally at work at his despatches by four or five o'clock in the morning. Whenever he went out or was at official business, he dressed in the full dress uniform of a General officer, which, in those days, was very heavy and uncomfortable. It must have been particularly irksome for any one to sit, especially in the hot weather, in a thick red cloth coat with epaulettes on the shoulders and a high stock round the throat; but, although the contrary has been stated, he sometimes relaxed this extreme vigour, and, as described by an officer who wrote at the time, he wore in private, a plain silk undress coat for the purpose of writing more at ease, as ordinary mortals do. We quote two or three sentences from the book we are referring to, as they show the great Governor-General at his work: "On the table before him were several boxes containing papers or despatches with some large thick quarto letter paper for his personal use. Some of the boxes were open; and at his right hand was one closed, but with a narrow opening in its lid, like a post-office pannel, for the admission of closed and sealed letters. Various consultation boxes containing recent reports, minutes, or despatches in circulation for the perusal of the members of Government, were on a side table, awaiting their early turn for consideration. The punkah was moving by some simple mechanism, so as to obviate the intrusion of a servant, and the whole scene betrayed the study and retirement of an indefatigable, ardent statesman, but one necessarily systematic and methodical in the otherwise overwhelming magnitude of his public business."

The Marquis of Hastings showed the greatest interest in the education of the people, and it was only the distracted

state of Central India, which caused him reluctantly to draw the sword, that prevented him from doing more to promote it. Lady Hastings, during her early stay at Barrackpore, founded a school there for some eighty boys. The instruction was in Bengali, and only those who showed particular diligence were rewarded by being taught English. She herself compiled a little book containing moral precepts and stories, which was translated into Bengali and Hindustani. Vernacular schools started in the neighbourhood of Calcutta by Dr. William Carey and others were liberally supported by Lord Hastings's Government, and the first vernacular newspaper, the *Samachar Durpan*, was published in his time and encouraged by him. It was his sincere desire to extend education to Central India, thus turning the tranquillity which there ensued, as he termed it, "to noble purposes." We think it only right and fair to his memory to quote his own words on this subject so as to show his thoughts regarding it, and to prove that only adverse circumstances prevented him from carrying them into effect. They also reach forward to the far future, when, England's work in India being done, she may, perhaps, be able to leave this country to be governed by its own sons. "God be praised," he wrote, "that we have been successful in extinguishing a system of rapine which was not only the unrelenting scourge of an immense population, but depraved its habits, while it stood an obstacle to every kind of improvement. It is befitting the British name and character that advantage should be taken of the opening which we have effected, and that establishments should be introduced which may rear a rising generation in some knowledge of social duties. A time will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has assumed over this country; and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful recollection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice."

With the quotation of these sentiments we conclude our retrospect of Lord Hastings's life. He was one of those noble rulers to whose memory India should look back with unfeigned gratitude. He was a first-rate military genius, and she owed to him the inestimable blessing of deliverance from a harassing and pestilential scourge, and consequently of peace and good government; but he was more than this. He was a good and amiable man, an admirable representative of his king, and a sincere friend of the Indian people, to whom he was most desirous to exhibit the best and highest example of a high-minded English gentleman.

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WILLIAM PITT AMHERST, the subject of this memoir, was the son of Lieutenant-General William Amherst, who highly distinguished himself in the war which resulted in the capture of Canada from the French. He was named after his father's friend, the celebrated statesman William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Thomas Patterson. He was born at Bath, in the county of Somerset, on January 14, 1773. His uncle, his father's older brother, was the celebrated General, Jeffery Amherst, who commanded the army sent to attempt the conquest of Canada, General Wolfe, whose pathetic death just before the capture of Quebec is so well-known, being second in command. General Amherst took the city of Montreal, wrested the whole of Canada then belonging to them from the French, and was appointed Governor-General of the province. He was created a peer with the title of Baron Amherst in 1776, was afterwards

made Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, and was a great favourite of George the Third. Even that sharp-tongued writer "Junius" had no ill-word for Sir Jeffery Amherst, as he was then, and declared that he was "rich in the esteem, the love, and veneration of his country."

When William Amherst was only eight years of age his father died, and his sister and he were taken to live with their uncle and his wife, who resided at Riverhead near Sevenoaks, in a beautiful part of the county of Kent. Their uncle had called his house Montreal after the city he had taken in Canada. Amidst the lovely surroundings of this neighbourhood he grew up to man's estate. He was educated at the public school of Westminster, where Warren Hastings and other eminent men had been trained. He afterwards went to Christ Church College, Oxford, where he took his degree in 1793. On leaving College, he took, as the custom then was, a long tour on the continent of Europe, studying the languages and customs of the countries through which he past. He succeeded his uncle as Baron Amherst in 1797, the latter having no sons to whom the title could descend. He then became attached to the Court of the King of England, and was Lord of the Bed-chamber, an office of dignity and influence, to three successive sovereigns. He was also early employed in the diplomatic service, that is, he represented the King at certain foreign courts or engaged in important business for his country. In 1809 he was sent as Ambassador to Sicily, and, as we shall have to mention soon, he was despatched to China as Ambassador with great powers conferred on him. On July 24, 1800, he married the Countess of Plymouth, whose late husband he had intimately known. It appears from this lady's diary that this union was singularly happy. They lived together in the utmost harmony and love for some eight-and-thirty years.

Lord Amherst was in 1815 made a Privy Councillor, that is, a member of the body which was consulted by the King on special occasions. In the following year he left England on a laborious and difficult mission. This was a special embassy to China. At the conclusion of the great

European war in 1815, the English Government had sufficient leisure to turn its attention to several important matters, to which, during the turmoil and excitement of war, it was unable to give the consideration they deserved. Among other pressing affairs, were the constant complaints that had been made regarding the exactions to which the English merchants of Canton had been subjected by the Mandarins and the local authorities in China. The East India Company had a factory at Canton ; and, from time to time, English ships of war visited the coast, and differences arose with the Chinese authorities. It was considered advisable, therefore, to send an Ambassador to Peking to treat direct with the Emperor of China and his ministers, and Lord Amherst received this appointment from the Prince Regent, the King being then laid aside by severe illness.

Lord Amherst sailed from England on this duty on February 8, 1816. He took with him his little son Jeffery, usually called Jeff, who was naturally a great favourite with the officers of the ship and of his father's staff ; but Lady Amherst remained at home. Two interesting accounts of this voyage and of the adventures in China were published ; but, as the matter is outside the history of India, we need not enter into any details regarding it. It will be sufficient to say that the vessel of war which took out the Ambassador and his suite, had a pleasant voyage, touching at Rio de Janeiro, the Cape of Good Hope, and Batavia. From the moment they landed on Chinese soil there was one continual wrangle between the Chinese officials and them regarding the obeisance, or " Koutou," which the Chinese Emperor expected the Ambassador to pay to him, and which the latter, as the representative of the King of England, declined to perform. The Chinese at the beginning of this century were exactly the same as they are at the end of it. They imagined that their Emperor was the greatest potentate on earth, and that all other sovereigns and their representatives should prostrate themselves before him with certain humiliating ceremonies. Lord Amherst flatly refused. There was,

however, much negotiation about compromises which might satisfy both sides. At length he and his suite arrived at Peking, and, when wearied and ill after a long and fatiguing journey, he was hurried into the presence of the Emperor of China, where he is said by the Chinese to have performed some ceremony which they interpreted as the coveted obeisance. There was, however, no formal ceremonial such as befitted the audience of the Ambassador of the sovereign of one civilised state by the ruler of another. He did not remain long even in the outskirts of the capital, and instead of returning to the nearest part by the way they had come, the Ambassador and his party were conveyed right across China, chiefly along the great canal, to Canton. The beauty of the scenery and the observation of the customs of the people served to lighten this long and tedious journey. On the homeward voyage the ship *Alceste*, in which Lord Amherst was travelling, was wrecked in the Straits of Jaspur, and he and his party had to go in an open boat to Batavia in the island of Java, where he found an English vessel which took them to England. After this untoward embassy and voyage, he reached his native land on August 16, 1817.

A few years were spent in England, during which Lord Amherst returned to his former employment about the Court and in political life, after which a far greater and more momentous period commenced. When the Marquis of Hastings' tenure of the Governor-Generalship came to an end, this splendid position, which had been declined by the brilliant orator and statesman, George Canning, was offered to him. He left England, accompanied by Lady Amherst, their son Jeffery, now a young officer in the army, and their daughter Sarah, on March 15, 1823, and arrived in Calcutta on August, 1. Lady Amherst kept a careful diary of the events that happened and the impression that were made upon her during her stay in India. Extracts from this vivid record have been given by Mrs. Thackeray Ritchie in her recent account of these times, the family having entrusted it to her care; and they throw light, from the same point

of view in which all these sketches have been written, upon events as seen from Government House or from the Governor-General's camp. There are several entries at first showing the genuine pleasure and interest she felt in the new life they had begun in a strange land. There is a description of her early reception of guests, accounts of little excursions in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and of short journeys up-country. The whole diary reveals the character of a brave, intelligent, and graceful lady, who took the keenest interest in passing events, and had an unfailing confidence in, and truest love for, her husband, who held such an exalted position in this country of variety and change.

Very soon after Lord Amherst had taken the reins of Government into his hands, dissensions arose between the Government of India and a new enemy. India itself, owing to the firm and energetic policy of his predecessor, was in profound peace. Lord Amherst himself was most sincerely desirous to carry out the wishes and instructions of the Court of Directors with regard to peace, and to the consolidation of the empire and the progress of the country. Nothing was further from his thoughts than war. Though descended from a martial stock, he had never been engaged in warlike affairs; and, as he ingenuously wrote to his great contemporary, Sir Thomas Munro, then Governor of Madras, after having mentioned his plans for the war now forced upon him, "It is really with considerable hesitation that I have entered into this detail with you. Arrangements like these are far beyond the reach of my experience; and I may have overlooked objections which would readily present themselves to persons more conversant with these matters." War was really pressed upon him by the arrogance of the Burmese. The kingdom of Burma was, at that time, of very wide extent. It was situated to the east and south-east of Bengal, and by recent conquests over Assam, Manipur, and Arracan, it now bordered on the Company's territories. Elated by these recent victories and by the weakness of the Indian Government's remonstrances about certain encroachments, the king had entertained a con-

tempt for English prowess, and had the idea that he could neglect every warning with impunity. The first serious dispute was about a barren, sandy island on the border between Arracan and the district of Chittagong, which, though British territory, the Burmese had occupied. The king, instead of sending a civil reply to the Governor-General's letter of remonstrance, sent the following insolent message :—"The Governor-General should state his case in a petition to Maha Bandula," a Burmese commander, "who was proceeding to Arracan with an army to settle the question." This was "the clearest case of self-defence and violated territory," according to the opinion of Sir Charles Metcalfe, one of the ablest statesmen then in India. A declaration of war against Burma was published on February 24, 1824, scarcely seven months after Lord Amherst's arrival.

The Government of India was very slightly acquainted with the nature of the country to be invaded, the character of the people, or the resources of the land. This ignorance led to some disaster and delay at the beginning of the campaign ; but these were afterwards fully retrieved and a steady but continuous advance was eventually made. We do not intend to give here a complete account of the first Burmese war ; but the outline of the events that occurred will be lighted up by extracts from the journals of two tender and heroic ladies, who were far apart from each other, and who saw things from diametrically opposite points. One was Lady Amherst, who shared all the anxieties and obloquy, and final triumph which fell to the lot of the Governor-General. The other was Mrs. Judson, the wife of the distinguished American Missionary Dr. Judson, who was then at Ava, and she there attended, like a ministering angel, to the wants of her husband, detained in cruel captivity, and was herself, from day to day, in imminent peril. The residence of the king of Burma had frequently been changed from one capital to another ; but the reigning king, who had succeeded to the throne in 1819, moved his court from Amarapura to Ava, which was about six miles from it, where he had built himself a magnificent new

palace. Dr. and Mrs. Judson were present at the grand ceremonial of its opening. "I dare not attempt," she wrote, "a description of that splendid day, when majesty, with all its attendant glory, entered the golden city. The white elephant, richly adorned with gold and jewels, was one of the most beautiful objects in the procession. The viceroys and high officers of the kingdom were assembled, dressed in their robes of state; and ornamented with the insignia of their offices. The king and queen alone were unadorned, dressed in the simple garb of the country; they, hand in hand, entered the garden in which we had taken our seats, and where a banquet was prepared for their refreshment." A few weeks afterwards Mrs. Judson heard of the capture of Rangoon by the English. The Burmese at Ava were thrown into a state of frantic excitement and vain-glory. An army was immediately despatched. "No doubt," wrote Mrs. Judson, "was entertained of the defeat of the English. The only fear of the king was that the foreigners, hearing of the advance of the Burman troops, would be so alarmed as to flee on board their ships, and depart before there would be time to secure them as slaves. 'Bring for me,' said a wild young officer of the palace, 'six white strangers to row my boat.' 'And to me,' said a lady, 'send four white strangers to manage the affairs of my house, as I understand they are trusty servants.' The war-boats passed our house, the soldiers singing, and dancing, and exhibiting gestures of the most joyous kind."

We turn to Calcutta. Lord Amherst was sincerely anxious that the war should not be protracted, and earnestly hoped that the Burmese would soon sue for peace. The main attack was made on Rangoon, from whence an advance to Ava by river was intended. Most of the troops were sent from Madras, and Sir Archibald Campbell, was in command. Rangoon was easily taken on May 11; but it was found deserted, the inhabitants having fled into the neighbouring jungles, and having carried with them all their cattle and other supplies. There was thus at first no foe to encounter, and the army had to be supplied with all necessaries from Calcutta and Madras. The heavy

monsoon, too, which fell in abundance, added intensely to the discomfort and difficulty of the situation. The only resource was patience. The Governor of Madras did the greater share in furnishing supplies and in sending reinforcements. The time necessarily spent at Rangoon was not altogether wasted. Martaban and other places on the Tenasserim coast were taken, and preparations for an advance were made.

In November, the King of Ava recalled from Arrakan, where his troops had been successful in several isolated places, his best commander Maha Bandula, who was the only one of his officers that had shown any military capacity; and early in December he appeared before the great Pagoda at Rangoon. The mode of warfare adopted by the Burmese was quite new to the Company's troops, whether European or Native; and it took some little time and experience to adapt themselves to it. The Burmese tactics were chiefly defensive. In certain places they raised 'stockades,' that is, light but strong walls of timber thrown across narrow passes and carefully guarded by loop-holes, through which shots could be fired. At first attempts were made to carry these by climbing and assault, and several failures were the result; but in time wisdom was learned, and shells and rockets were employed to dislodge the defenders. In the open field the Burmese soldiers relied more on their shovels and their spades than on their military arms. A force would advance with all the full array of pennon and umbrellas; but it would suddenly disappear as if by magic. Each man had employed himself in helping to dig neat little holes in the ground, into each of which two soldiers would ensconce themselves ready for defence. This also was at first a very novel and embarrassing mode of warfare; but the invading army soon acquired the right method of attacking the Burmese. Another very ingenious mode of attack was by means of fire-rafts, which were floated down the stream of the Irawadi with the object of setting on fire the English ships of war and transport vessels. These were rendered harmless by placing booms across the river,

and thus diverting the rafts from their course. The attacks made by Maha Bandula on Rangoon were repulsed, and he retreated to Donabew, forty miles up the river Irawadi.

Meanwhile, expeditions were being sent to Assam, Cachar and Arrakan. The last, after having endured much hardship on the march, was successful in taking the capital of Arrakan, which was defended by fortifications on almost inaccessible hills. During all this trying time of waiting there was much anxiety, and even despondency, felt in Calcutta. The success in Arrakan came to cheer all there, even the Governor-General and Lady Amherst. The latter wrote: "The defences of the town were on a range of hills almost inaccessible, surrounded by dangerous swamps, the summits being cleared and entrenched. An attack on these heights on the evening of March 29, failed owing to the extreme difficulty of ascending the heights, which were nearly perpendicular, and the successful resistance of the enemy rolling down stones." Two days later these fortified heights were taken. "This service," she adds, "was performed entirely with the bayonet, without firing a shot. The success of the troops was announced to the camp by striking up the British drums and fifes from the summit during the night." Fever, however, and other pestilences peculiar to this swampy province did more injury to the troops than the enemy, and it was found impossible to advance on Ava according to the original intention. Arrakan has from that time been a British possession.

At length, after comparative inactivity, an advance was made from Rangoon. The plan was to proceed towards the capital in two columns, one to go by land, and the other by water. Sir Archibald Campbell was to command the former, and General Cotton the latter. Maha Bandula was at Donabew, whither the river column proceeded; but the first attack was unsuccessful, and Sir Archibald Campbell had to return to its assistance. The result of this combined attack shall be given in Lady Amherst's own words. "This morning, (April 29, 1825)" she wrote in her diary, "despatches arrived from Sir Archibald Campbell

with the glorious and cheering news of the fall of Donabew. A rocket most fortunately falling on the Maha Bandula killed him, and on the night between April 1 and 2 the garrison evacuated the fort, stores of all kinds were taken, and immense quantities of provisions. Bandula was the only Burmese general who has in any degree resisted our army. He had begun to show signs of civilization, and had issued a proclamation ordering his soldiers not to maltreat or put their prisoners to death."

People in Calcutta were beginning to feel in better spirits. Let us turn to Ava. Mrs. Judson, who, with her babe, was the only white person at liberty, wrote :—" At this period the death of Bandula was announced in the palace. The king heard it with silent amazement, and the queen, in Eastern style, smote upon her breast, and cried, 'Ama, ama.' Who could be found to fill his place? Who would venture, since the invincible Bandula had been cut off? Such were the exclamations constantly heard in the streets of Ava. The common people were speaking *low* of a rebellion in case more troops should be levied. For as yet the common people had borne the weight of the war; not a 'tical' had been taken from the royal treasury. At length the 'Pakanwoon,' who a few months before had been so far disgraced by the king as to be thrown into prison and irons, now offered himself to head a new army that should be raised on a different plan from those which had hitherto been raised, and assured the king that he would conquer the English, and restore those places that had been taken, in a very short time." The malignant representations of this man had rendered the imprisonment of the white men in Ava more vigorous than before.

After the capture of Donabew the upward march of the English army was continued to Prome, a town on the Irawadi about a hundred and fifty miles from the sea. Sir Archibald Campbell's force reached Prome on April 25, 1825, only to find it evacuated. As the rainy season was approaching, it remained there for several months, being quartered in comfortable cantonments near the town, to which the people were induced to return by the concilia-

tory and friendly behaviour of the English troops. The anxiety at Calcutta still continued. There was an outcry both in England and in India at the length and the expense of the war. Peace was sincerely desired ; but Lord Amherst considered that the wisest plan was to push on as quickly as the weather would permit towards the capital. He was ready to welcome any overtures towards peace, and sent an experienced civilian to assist the general in his negotiations for this purpose. Lady Amherst reflected the universal feeling among the English in India, when she wrote in her journal " We now begin to flatter ourselves that there is a prospect of an end to the war, which has been a campaign of increasing triumphs to the British arms. We may fairly say that our foes have been beaten into suing for peace, their insolent language and high pretensions have vanished." This was not yet the case. Although it is a little difficult to trace the course of the war in Mrs. Judson's journal-letters, we can see that these pretensions were as high as ever. Fresh forces were levied, including some from the Shan States, led by some of their own warlike princesses. Negotiations for peace were several times repeated, and, as often, were broken off, owing to the arrogance of the Burmese king and his representatives. " When they came to business," as Lady Amherst wrote, " they reverted to their usual insolence of language, saying that, if the British wished for peace, they might sue for it, and that the Burmese might perhaps listen to them as tributaries to the Golden Empire." Further victories and the capture of Maloun, a town still nearer the capital, served to moderate their tone. The king seemed now thoroughly frightened. Dr. Judson, ill as he was from cruelty and disease, was sent to the Burmese camp near Maloun to interpret, and preparations were made for fortifying the capital. After a stay of six weeks Dr. Judson was sent back to Ava, and Dr. Price, the other American Missionary there, who had also been in captivity, was with one of the English prisoners, despatched to help in the negotiations. " With the most anxious solicitude," wrote Mrs. Judson, " the court awaited the arrival of the messengers ; but did

not in the least relax their exertions to fortify the city. Men and beasts were at work night and day, making new stockades and strengthening old ones, and whatever buildings were in their way were immediately torn down. All articles of value were conveyed out of town, and safely deposited in some other place." The terms of peace proposed by the English were scouted. The King of Ava and his advisers were still insincere notwithstanding their fears.

One more effort was made to check the advancing force. "The offers of a general named Layah-thoo-yah," Mrs. Judson said, "were accepted, who desired to make one more attempt to conquer the English. He assured the king and government that he could so fortify Pagan as to make it impregnable. He marched to Pagan with a very considerable force, and made strong the fortifications." All was in vain. The fresh Burmese army was totally defeated, and the unfortunate general, being foolish enough to return to Aya and show himself in the king's presence, was cruelly executed. "The king caused it to be reported," added Mrs. Judson, "that this general was executed in consequence of disobeying his commands 'not to fight the English.'" At length the British General's terms were accepted. The prisoners were released, and a treaty of peace was signed at Yandabu, some forty miles from Ava, on February 24, 1826, exactly two years after the declaration of war had been made. Assam, Arrakan, and the Tenasserim Provinces were ceded to the East India Company, all pretensions over Manipur and Cachar were relinquished; a crore of rupees were to be paid as a war indemnity in four instalments; and a British Resident was to be received at the Court of Ava.

As we have tried to look at matters from the point of view from Ava through Mrs. Judson's eyes, we must give one or two further extracts from her journal-letter to complete her touching narrative. "It was on a cool, moonlight evening," she wrote, that with hearts filled with gratitude to God and overflowing with joy, we passed down the Irawadi. We now, for the first time, for more than a year and a half, felt that we were free, and no longer sub-

ject to the oppressive yoke of the Burmese. With what sensations of delight, on the next morning, did I behold the masts of a steamboat, the sure presage of being within the bounds of civilised life! Next day I was introduced to the General in his camp a few miles farther down the river, and was received by him with the greatest kindness. He had a tent pitched for us near his own, took us to his own table, and treated us with the kindness of a father rather than as strangers of another country." Nor was there less joy at Calcutta at the tidings. The Governor-General and Lady Amherst were just starting for their morning ride, on April 5, 1826, when they received a message that news of peace had been received from Burma. Sir Archibald Campbell had returned by the same vessel. "Before ten o'clock," Lady Amherst wrote, "Sir Archibald, Mr. Robertson, and Mr. Mangles (secretary of the latter) arrived at Barrackpore. The joy on all sides is more easily imagined than described. The troops were returning, only a certain number remained until the rest of the tribute was paid, and some regiments were left to guard the ceded provinces." Thus ended the first Burmese war. Even before the annexation of the whole country, in which subsequent insults and wars ended, the provinces ceded to the Company increased materially in prosperity. Assam was covered with tea-plantations, which now rival those of China itself; Arrakan became a fruitful granary for the neighbouring countries; and Moulmein became a flourishing sea-port.

An alarming episode in the Burmese war must here be narrated. Most of the sepoy employed in it were taken from Madras, and, not being of high caste, were not unwilling to embark on board ship; but it was different with those of the Bengal army, who, being chiefly of high caste, shrank from crossing the water. The 27th Regiment, being ordered to march by land to Arrakan, and having to provide transit for their goods, refused to start, because there was great difficulty in obtaining draught bullocks. This was a direct breach of military discipline. This regiment was quartered at Barrackpore, near the Governor-

General's country residence, where Lord Amherst and his family were then staying. When their mutinous conduct manifested itself, the Commander-in-chief hastened thither with European troops, the body-guard, and artillery. The refractory regiment was ordered to parade early on the morning of November 1, 1824. On the sepoy's refusing to obey orders, they were surrounded and dispersed by the faithful troops. This was a terrible experience for Lady Amherst and her daughter. For a few hours the whole household was in imminent peril. What the danger actually was, can be stated in her own words. "Before the troops arrived at Barrackpore," she wrote in her journal, "we were for twenty-four hours in great danger and entirely at the mercy of the mutineers. Had they had any clever head among them, and seized the Governor-General and the Commander-in-chief, the mutineers might probably have made their own terms. There was not a single European or person to be depended upon, and our situation was awfully alarming. Lord Amherst resolved not to leave the house and I determined not to quit him. Sarah (their daughter) behaved heroically, and, though ill, declared she would remain, and kept up her spirits, as we all did as well as we could. The Commander-in-chief returned his thanks to us both for not quitting the house, but it was a frightful scene. Some of our servants were wounded. We fortunately did not know at the moment that the night the mutiny broke out all the sentries in and about the house belonged to the 47th. The scene of action was not a quarter of a mile from this house. Many shots entered the cook-house, and many fell into the water under our windows." Happily this severe example was effectual. Other disaffected regiments returned to their allegiance, and no more was then heard about refusal to go on foreign service.

The state of India generally must now be considered. The victories under the Marquis of Hastings had greatly extended the territories of the East India Company, and a salutary awe had settled down upon the land. There was, here and there, a feeling of unrest among the people; but it was chiefly felt among the disbanded soldiery, and among

certain independent or feudatory Rajas and chieftains, who did not then regard the English Government with the same loyalty and affection as we trust and believe they do now. All eyes were at this time directed to the state and fort of Bhurtpore. The garrison of the fort had successfully resisted the assaults of Lord Lake in the Mahratta war at the commencement of this century, and an idea had arisen in the minds of the people of India that it was impregnable. The state of Bhurtpore was under the government of a Jat family. A young Raja, about seven years old, occupied the *muskud* in 1825, having been recognized as the successor of his father by Sir David Ochterlony, the Resident at Delhi, who, with the sanction of the Government of India, had presented him with a *khilat* of investiture. He was under the guardianship of his maternal uncle. One of his cousins, however, named Durgan Lal, usurped the throne, placed him in confinement, and put his uncle to death. Sir David Ochterlony at once issued a proclamation to the people to support their lawful sovereign, and collected a considerable force to assist him in maintaining his rights. The Governor-General, however, disapproved of this proceeding, and directed that this proclamation should be withdrawn. He was not satisfied that the Government was bound to support the young Raja, and shrank from engaging in a fresh war, while the issue of the Burmese war was still undecided. Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Resident at Hyderabad, was appointed to his former post as Resident of Delhi. Sir David Ochterlony, a fine specimen of the brave commanders and rulers whom the last century had produced, but with perhaps, too much of the grand Oriental *bahádur* about him, was so mortified by this rebuff that he resigned his post, and soon afterwards died at Meerut. Sir Charles Metcalfe was clearly very much of the same opinion as Sir David, and in an admirable state paper maintained that the Government was pledged to interfere in the affairs of Bhurtpore. "We are bound," he wrote, "not by any positive engagement to the Bhurtpore state, nor by any claim on its part, but by our duty as supreme guardians of general tranquillity, law, and right, to maintain the legal succes-

sion of the youthful Raja, Bulwant Sing." Lord Amherst was convinced by the arguments stated in this document, and had the grace to acknowledge this. Orders were given for an army to proceed to Bhurtpore, at the head of which the new Commander-in-chief, Lord Combermere, placed himself. The strong mud fortress of Bhurtpore was situated some miles to the west of Agra, from the gateway tower of which it could then be seen through a telescope. Bishop Heber, who was travelling in those parts early in 1826, was told that the standing army of the Raja fell short of 300 men; but no sooner was it known that Durjan Sal was about to resist the English and to defend the renowned fort, than thousands of discontented Mahrattas and Rajputs flocked to his standard. The Jats themselves were eager for the conflict. The English Army invested the fort on December 10, 1825. "The attention of all India," to quote Bishop Heber again, "is fixed on this siege, on the event of which far more than on anything which may happen in the Burman empire, the renown of the British arms, and the permanency of the British empire in Asia, must depend. The Jats are the finest people in bodily advantages and apparent martial spirit whom I have seen. * * * They are the only people in India who boast that they have never been subdued either by the Mogul Emperors or the English."

Lord and Lady Amherst had a keen personal interest in the siege of Bhurtpore. Their eldest son Jeffery, who had been acting as his father's Military Secretary, had volunteered to join his regiment there. We cannot forbear giving his mother's own statement. "This day," she wrote on September 30, 1825, "has been a gloomy and heavy one to me. My dear son Jeff announced to me his anxious wish to join his regiment, in case the siege of Bhurtpore is resolved upon; and that his father had consented to his plan, though so painful to his feelings. As to myself I am torn with the anguish of two feelings of an opposite nature, my maternal feelings for my son (in me greatly too poignant for my comfort), and my conviction that he is doing his duty and evincing a spirit and courage

worthy of his family." On January 18, 1826, the famous fortress fell. A large mine was exploded under the walls, and the victorious army entered through the breach thus made. Captain Amherst was among the assailants. Durjan Sal was caught as he was attempting to escape, and was placed in captivity, first at Allahabad and then at Benares; and the young Raja was re-placed on his throne at a state durbar held by Lord Combermere and Sir Charles Metcalfe. Captain Amherst returned to Calcutta directly after the siege had ended; and, on February 6, Lady Amherst made the following entry in her journal, "Our beloved Jeff arrived from Bhurtpore in high health and spirits, having travelled ten days and nights without stopping. The excessive joy of seeing once more this dear son, so many weeks the object of such intense anxiety, has made us forget all the disappointment from Burmese treachery."

This beloved son was taken from his affectionate parents a few months after his return. Lord Amherst and his son both had attacks of intermittent fever near the end of July. The former recovered, but the latter had a relapse after partial recovery, and on the morning of August 2, 1826, he expired, "With the same placid heavenly smile on his countenance," as his mother lovingly wrote, "I had been used to see." "His calm and sweet temper," she added, "and very warm heart had endeared him to every member of society." "This death was the bitterest pang I ever felt, and shall continue to feel as long as I live."

Public affairs also lay very heavily on Lord Amherst's mind at this time. The Burmese war was very unpopular in England, and much dissatisfaction was felt by the Court of Directors regarding the mutiny at Barrackpore. There were busy rumours of his recall. All this very naturally troubled the Governor-General and Lady Amherst. "While Lord Amherst," the latter wrote, "was labouring day and night for his employers, in measures that have since proved to be highly advantageous to their interest, and for the prosperity of the country entrusted to his care, they were listening to the base falsehoods and to the base intrigues to

recall him. The Duke of Wellington evinced both magnanimity of mind and a thorough knowledge of the affairs of India. The conduct of the war being referred to him, he declared his entire approbation of the manner in which it had been conducted." Mrs. Thackeray Ritchie, in her admirable memoir of Lord Amherst, has given the letter of the illustrious Duke, which had hitherto not been published, and in which the above remark of Lady Amherst is fully justified. "There is nothing," he wrote in October, 1825, "in my opinion in the state of the war which ought to induce the Government to recall Lord Amherst. He ought not to have commenced the war without knowing a little more of the enemy he had to contend with; he ought not possibly to have sent Sir Archibald Campbell to Rangoon till he could co-operate with him from other quarters; but even this last opinion might be doubted. But whether the war was originally right or wrong, it is quite clear to me that the Bengal Government are now in the right road, and that nothing but the season will prevent them from putting an end to the war in a very short time." With regard to the sad mutiny at Barrackpore the Duke of Wellington wrote:—"I don't see how it is possible to find fault with Lord Amherst upon any part of this transaction. . . Not only we ought not to remove Lord Amherst on account of the mutiny, or for any of the acts preceding that misfortune, or following; but we ought to do everything in our power to support him in the performance of the duty." The Court of Directors completely changed their views on these matters, when all the facts were before them, and Lord Amherst was created by his sovereign an earl by the title of Earl Amherst of Arrakan and Viscount Holmesdale in Kent. The thanks of the Court were given to him for his active, strenuous, and persevering exertions in conducting to a successful issue the late war with the Government of Ava, prosecuted amid circumstances of very unusual difficulty, and terminated so as to uphold the character of the Company's Government; to maintain the British ascendant in India, and to impress the bordering states with just notions of the national power and resources.

The Governor-General and Lady Amherst with their daughter made at this time a prolonged state tour through the upper provinces of India. They started with heavy hearts two days after the death of their son. The entry in Lady Amherst's diary is very mournful and pathetic. "On August 4, 1826, our miserable family embarked at five o'clock in the morning. On this day Lord Amherst has resolved on resigning his situation as Governor-General, and has written to that effect. The idea of rejoining my children in England is a great comfort to us all." They went by water as far as Allahabad, and thence continued their progress by stages on land. Their encampments and their receptions were very similar to those undertaken by other Governors-General. A state visit was paid to the Nawab of Oude at Lucknow. Agra was visited, where, besides a grand durbar at which Sindia's brother-in-law was received, Lady Amherst, for the first time, held a private durbar for the reception of two Mahratta Princesses and the attendants. We will not give her account of this interview; but part of the translation of a description given by one of the Mahratta ladies herself. The whole is an amusing instance of the different impressions left by the same event on the English and the Hindu ladies. "I was so much agitated," runs the narrative, "at approaching the great lady that I could hardly breathe. She was sitting on a golden musnad of curious workmanship and resembling the mountain Kailas in splendour. She did not sit cross-legs; but with her feet hanging down to the ground in a strange manner which I cannot describe, but which I think must be very painful. On the top of her turban she wore a waving plume of white feathers resembling the wing of the Scivroogh, and on the front of the turban was a Sirpesh of light-scattering diamonds which sparkled like the Pleiades. There were a great many more of the great lord's wives present; some were very handsome, but most of them so horridly white that they appeared like figures of marble. After conversing some time, two young ladies acted as nautch girls. They sat before a kind of table on which there were a

number of ivory teeth in a row (a piano) ; one of the young ladies, daughter of the great lady, struck these teeth with her fingers very quick, which produced some soul-exhil-arating sounds ; at the same time both young ladies began to sing together. It was very pleasing and soft, like the tear-beguiling song of the bulbul. During the time we were there we heard some English tom-toms playing in the gateway ; in short everything was done that could afford us pleasure and delight." Soon after this interview the Governor-General's party heard of the death of the great Dowlut Row Sindia, who had at one time been very powerful, but whose power had been curbed, owing to his having thrown in his lot against the English Government. When at Delhi Lord Amherst had an interview the venerable Emperor. There had been a difficulty at the time of the visit of the Marquis of Hastings to the North West, arising from the etiquette still observed in the Emperor's old-fashioned and effete court, where even the Governor-General would not have been permitted to sit ; but the Emperor's advisers had since grown wiser, and Lord Amherst was asked to sit in these terms, " As you are my friend, as you are my protector, as you are my master, I ask you to sit down." " The only person," as Lady Amherst recorded, " except the heir-apparent, who has ever sat in the king's presence."

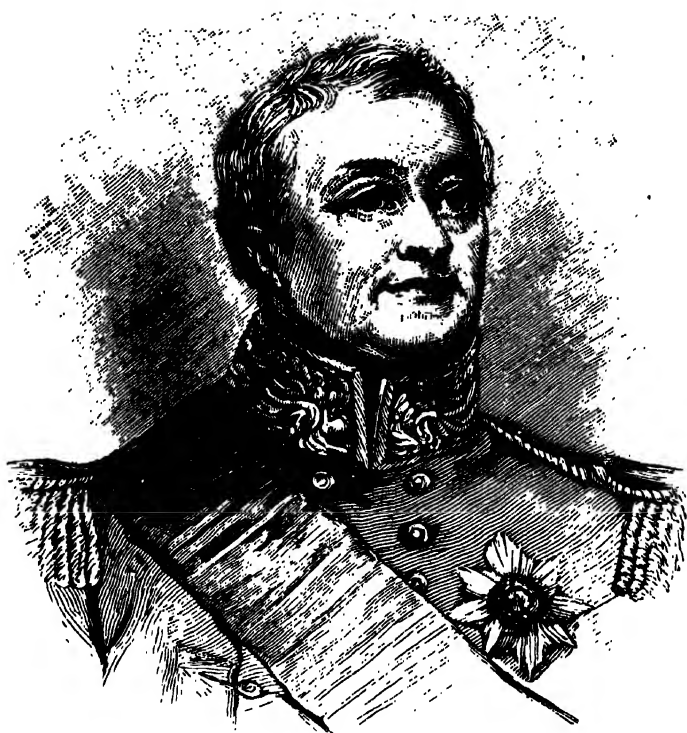
On April 5 the Governor-General's party arrived at Simla. He was the first holding this high office who had gone there for a season of rest and refreshment after the heat of the plains—a custom which has since become very common. The tour through the Upper Provinces had done much to re-instate Lord Amherst's health, for he had suffered a good deal from anxiety and domestic sorrow while at Calcutta. The stay at Simla seems to have had a similar effect on Lady Amherst. " We spend our time most monotonously," she wrote, " rising early and walking, or rather scrambling up the mountains. After breakfast, we go out with the native botanist in search of new plants. Home occupations come till five in the evening, when we sally forth again among the mountains ; dine at seven, and

retire to rest at nine o'clock. This is our present life, very quiet and pleasant." On June 15 they left Simla on their return to Calcutta and eventually to England. Lady Amherst's heart rejoiced at the prospect of going home. "We could not but feel sorry to quit this peaceful abode, and the magnificent scenery of those stupendous mountains, but it was our first step towards home." The return journey to Calcutta was devoid of any striking incident. It was saddened by the Governor-General's party having to pass through large tracts of country devastated by cholera, which was very prevalent. Soon after their arrival at Calcutta they quitted it for England. The departure of the Governor-General and Lady Amherst was delayed for a time by the dangerous illness of their daughter. Directly she was well enough to be moved, they embarked on board the ship *Herald*, which sailed on March 8, 1828. Though touched by the expression of sorrow and regret which were genuinely felt at their departure by the inhabitants of Calcutta, they were not grieved to quit the country where they had been called upon to endure so much anxiety both official and domestic. We cannot truthfully say that Lord Amherst ranks among the greatest of the statesmen who have held the highly responsible office of Governor-General; but he was certainly one of the most painstaking and conscientious. He held his way steadily on the path of duty, amidst contumely and misrepresentation, and events proved that, in the main, he was right in his policy.

Lord Amherst had the privilege of being supported in his government by some of the ablest men whom British India has ever possessed. We have already mentioned some of them. Sir Thomas Munro was the Governor of Madras during the greater part of his administration. Lord Amherst was much indebted to him for counsel and help during the Burmese war, and the Presidency of Madras was peculiarly fortunate in having such an eminent man as its Governor. He died of cholera while on a tour through the Ceded Districts on July 6, 1827, sincerely regretted by his people. The Honorable Mountstuart Elphinstone was Governor of Bombay, and he is regarded

even to the present day as the most useful administrator known in that Presidency. But we cannot omit to mention Bishop Heber, from whose journal we have already quoted, and who was one of the most graceful ornaments of Lord Amherst's time. He arrived at Calcutta a few months after the Governor-General, and died at Trichinopoly when on a tour through South India on April 3, 1826. His death was felt as a deep personal sorrow by Lord and Lady Amherst. Though he had been scarcely three years in India, his simple piety and gentle manners left an indelible impression on all who met him, and his memory still is sweet. Almost his last words before his sudden death by accidental drowning were an exhortation to the Tamil Christians to be Christians not only in name but in reality, and to shine as lights before the people among whom they lived.

We return to Lord and Lady Amherst, though we need not say much regarding their subsequent career. Lord Amherst resumed the position in the Court of the King of England which he had resigned when he went to India. Lady Amherst, to his great sorrow, died in May, 1837. He married again two years afterwards, and the evening of his life was spent in the home of his childhood at Riverhead. His garden was his greatest pleasure and recreation. He died on March 13, 1857, at Knole Park, a very beautiful estate close to Sevenoaks.



LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK.

A.D. 1774 TO 1839.

“The system which has founded British greatness upon Indian happiness, is one of the noblest efforts of wisdom and patriotism.”

Lord William Bentinck.

THE family of Bentinck is of Dutch origin. The first of the family that came to England was Hans William Bentinck, friend of the Prince of Orange, afterwards William the Third, whom he accompanied to that country at the time of the Revolution. When his patron was firmly seated on the throne, Hans William Bentinck was created Earl of Portland. He and his descendants married into some of the best and noblest English families; and, in two or three generations, became thoroughly English.

The subject of this memoir, William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, was the second son of the third Duke of Portland, who was, for a season, Prime Minister of England. He was born September 14, 1774. He entered the army as an ensign in the Coldstream Guards, and rose by rapid promotion. In the short space of two years he became a Colonel. In his earlier military career he saw a good deal of service among the great armies of the Continent of Europe, for it was a period of war and commotion throughout the world. For a time he served on the staff of the Duke of York, the English commander-in-chief in the disastrous campaign in Flanders. Then, for although young in years, he seems to have been bright and intelligent in all matters connected with his profession, he was chosen by the English Government to accompany, as their representative, the army of Marshal Suwarrow, the Austrian Commander, in North Italy and Switzerland; and, in this capacity, he sent confidential despatches to the Government regarding all that occurred in that campaign. He was present at the decisive battle of Marengo, and at most of the other engagements that took place between the Austrians and the French under their celebrated

chieftain, Napoleon Buonaparte. He thus had an opportunity of learning something of the terrible art of war and of the movement of great masses of troops, and of studying the military manœuvres of some of the greatest commanders of that day. While in Italy he took a deep interest in the political condition of that country, and in the national customs and feelings of the people, which were of much use to him in a subsequent part of his career. He afterwards joined the English army in Egypt which, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, was protecting that country from the attacks of Napoleon; but, on his arrival, he found that the campaign had come to an end, and, the short-lived treaty of Amiens having been concluded, he returned to England. Soon after his return, he was, on February 19, 1803, married to Lady Mary Acheson, daughter of the Earl of Gosford. He was not, however, to settle down in peaceful ease in his own country; for, only three months after his marriage, he was appointed Governor of Madras, and thus had an opportunity of serving his sovereign in a different part of the world than any in which he had hitherto been employed.

Lord William Bentinck and his bride crossed the surf at Madras on August 30, 1803. The position of Governor of Madras, though one which had the promise of much usefulness, was not of the supreme importance that it possessed only a few years before, because the seat of power and authority had been transferred to Bengal. It was, however, a very high position for so young a man, Lord William being scarcely twenty-nine when he took his seat in the Council Chamber at Fort St. George as Governor. The Governor-General was the Marquis Wellesley, who was then engaged in the cares and responsibilities of the second Mahratta War. He sent a confidential officer on his staff to meet and welcome the new Governor, and to acquaint him with the nature of his policy and plans. We cannot forbear from quoting two or three sentences from Lord William's reply, because they clearly indicate the spirit in which he began his Indian career, and in which he desired to conduct the business of his Government. "I am quite aware," he wrote, "of the arduous and important task

which I have undertaken. The divided state of this government, and the opposition and counteraction which my predecessor received, are circumstances much to be lamented, which tend to destroy all the vigour and efficiency so imperiously required in the management of this great unsettled territory." I am determined, he added, to maintain "a steady resolution to do what is right, uninfluenced by party or prejudice, careless and fearless of the result." The Governor-General was pleased with the sentiments expressed in this letter, and in his next despatch commended "the truly British spirit, sound judgment, and hereditary integrity and honour" shown in it.

Remembering the much higher position to which Lord William Bentinck was hereafter to be promoted, it is gratifying to observe how sincerely he desired that the Government of India should be conducted on the sound principle of ever keeping in view the prosperity and happiness of the people of India. We now quote a portion of a letter which he wrote to the Governor-General when forwarding an address to him from Madras in May, 1804. One phrase in it expresses in brief, epigrammatic form the very kernel of the true success of English rule in India. That phrase is contained in the last sentence of the quotation, namely, the "system" of Government "which has founded British greatness upon Indian happiness." "It is most pleasing to reflect," he wrote, "that the result of the (Mahratta) war, affords a hope of equal benefit to the great mass of the people whose rulers have been conquered." Then, after referring to former wars and depredations that had taken place throughout the land, he goes on, "justice, order, consideration of public and private rights nowhere appear in relief of this melancholy picture. Happily a period has arrived to these barbarous excesses. That system of policy which could embrace the whole of India, which could comprehend in one bond of mutual defence and reciprocal forbearance the predatory chiefs of this great Empire, deserves the admiration of all the civilised world. That system, one of the noblest efforts of the wisdom and patriotism of a subject, which has founded British greatness

upon Indian happiness, demands in a particular manner the thanks and applause of this country." Such sentiments as these are as applicable to the India of 1894 as to the India of 1804.

It must have been very humiliating to turn from thoughts and sentiments like these to the irritating and petty squabbles that disturbed the Council Chamber in Madras. An inhabitant of Madras, we believe it was the well-known philanthropist Patchappa, had left a sum of money to be expended in local charities. The Chief Justice and some Members of Council differed from the Governor as to the manner in which this money ought to be spent. It was a trifling matter, and yet it led to much heated dissension and dissension, which, at the present day, seems peculiarly undignified and useless. There was another cause of dissension, which related to the appointment of a Member of Council, and which, as the Court of Directors had overruled the Governor's recommendation and had appointed another person, who was obnoxious to him, caused him to feel that the Court was inclined to disapprove of his actions and to thwart his policy.

But a greater event than any of these petty, personal quarrels drew on Madras the attention of all who were interested in India. This was the mutiny at Vellore. It is not our purpose to relate the narrative of this sudden and terrible event, which, in the midst of profound peace, startled the dwellers in British India, except as it touches the life of Lord William Bentinck himself. The sepoys of the Madras army had, as a rule, been thoroughly loyal in their allegiance to the British Government. Some of the greatest victories in the by-gone century had been won by them under Clive and Lawrence and Coote. They had contributed materially to the foundation of the British Empire in India. They were devoted to their officers, but they needed officers who respected and understood them. Just at the time of which we are writing there were in high command officers who did not understand them. An order was issued, on November 14, 1805, requiring the sepoys to wear a new head-dress, lighter and more suitable, it might

be, than the ugly, yet curiously picturesque, turban which they had hitherto worn ; but they were accustomed to the latter, and suspected something underhand in the change. This idea was confirmed when, a few months later, another order was issued forbidding them to wear their earrings and marks of caste when on parade. This at once confirmed the idea that there was something behind, and the sepoys concluded that the Government intended to convert them forcibly to Christianity. Of course this was untrue, and the orders were merely the result of a piece of foolish military discipline. A regiment stationed at Vellore refused to put on the new turban. Two ringleaders were punished, and the rest who had been tried by Court-Martial were acquitted. The Commander-in-chief applied to the Governor, and intimated that he was willing to give way ; but Lord William Bontinck was of opinion that it was better to remain firm, became "yielding in the face of force was to be avoided." Early in the morning of July 10, 1806, the sepoys at Vellore rose against their English officers and the slender garrison of English soldiers there. Many were killed, but the survivors bravely defended themselves until the help came from Arcot, and the mutiny was vigorously suppressed. It extended no further, and the distasteful orders regarding the sepoys' dress were withdrawn by the Governor's own command.

A special commission was appointed to examine into the causes of this sad matter, and it reported that the causes were two fold—the dissatisfaction with the orders about dress, and the intrigues of the family of Tippoo Sultan. The sons of Tippoo with their attendants had, since their father's overthrow, been residing at Vellore. Their adherents may have taken advantage of the prevailing discontent to carry on a Muhammadan intrigue ; but the main cause was caste prejudice and ungrounded fears of something sinister behind. The Court of Directors considered that Lord William Bentinck was very much to blame for the part he took in these transactions, and for the want of foresight and tact which he had exhibited. He ought, they considered, to have inquired more carefully

into the feelings of the sepoys and to have ascertained more accurately the temper of the army. "Of the uprightness of his intentions," they wrote, "we have no doubt, and we have had pleasure in expressing our satisfaction with different measures of his government; but others, which we felt ourselves obliged to disapprove, impaired our confidence in him, and after weighing all the considerations connected with the business of Vellore, we felt ourselves unable longer to continue that confidence to him, which it is necessary for a person holding his situation to possess." Three years later, on his presenting a memorial to the Court, they adhered to their opinion, and "regretted that greater caution had not been exercised in examining into the real sentiments and disposition of the sepoys." Lord William Bentinck gave over charge of the Government of Madras on September 11, 1807.

When the late Governor of Madras returned to England, the campaign by the English against the French in the Peninsula of Portugal and Spain was just commencing. He had attained the rank of Major General, and was glad to join the army on active employment. He commanded a brigade at the battle of Corunna, in which occurred the death of Sir John Moore, whose burial is celebrated in one of the most pathetic poems in the English language. The most important services, however, which Lord William Bentinck performed during this war were in the island of Sicily. He was appointed, in 1811, to command the English troops in that island, which, being near Italy, rendered the presence of the English forces of great value in checking the devices of Napoleon in that country. He was one of the first English statesmen that realized the desirability of Italy being converted into an independent kingdom. One of the chief objects intended by the Government in having a force in the Mediterranean was to co-operate with Lord Wellington in his campaign in Spain by landing an Anglo-Sicilian army on the east coast of that land; but Lord William, his mind being full of other projects, did not sufficiently enter into this plan, and the only attempt made was unsuccessful. Sir William Napier, the great historian

of the Peninsula campaigns did not approve of his conduct, and has called him "a man of resolution, capacity, and spirit, just in his actions, and abhorring oppression, but of a sanguine impetuous disposition." Lord William Bentinck had no easy task to perform in Sicily, because the Queen of Naples, who, with her family, had been driven by Napoleon from the main land to the island, was bent on thwarting all English influence. The imbecile king resigned in favour of his son, and a Parliament, on the English plan, was created. A new constitution, which Lord William had himself drawn up, was proclaimed in Palermo on July 20, 1812. In 1814 he successfully led an army from Leghorn, where he landed, to Genoa, which he captured; but he could not rouse the Italians to unite in making themselves independent and free. He laid down the command of the British forces in the Mediterranean on May 24, 1815, just three weeks before the decisive battle of Waterloo brought to Europe the blessings of a long peace.

The next twelve years of Lord William's life produced few incidents worthy of record here. He sat in the House of Commons as member for Lynn. He chiefly occupied himself in matters connected with Italy and Sicily. In 1819 he was again offered the appointment of Governor of Madras, but declined to accept a post from which he considered that he had been unjustly removed. He was a candidate for the appointment of Governor-General, when the term of office of the Marquis of Hastings came to an end; but that position was given to Lord Amherst. When, however, that nobleman retired, the Court of Directors appalled by the large deficit created by the war in Burma, and still adhering to the policy of economy and retrenchment which had always characterized them, chose as Governor-General Lord William Bentinck, who, they hoped, would be ready to pursue a course of peace and a policy of economy. Though appointed in July, 1827, he did not leave England at once, but assumed charge on July 4, 1828, just a year later.

There is no doubt that Lord William Bentinck, as other Governors-Generals before him, was sincerely desirous to

carry into practice the principles of Government which the Court of Directors had enjoined, and the circumstances of the time fortunately enabled him to do what they were unable to effect. India, from no fault of its English rulers, had long been afflicted by both internal and external war. It was now blessed with profound peace, and Lord William Bentinck's administration was happily one of quiet tranquillity. He was thus in a position to carry out certain necessary measures of reform, and both Hindu and Muhammadan can look back to his time with gratitude and satisfaction.

His first act unfortunately brought him into collision with English military officers. This was to carry into effect orders which the Court of Directors had been for many years determined to issue on which they were resolved to insist. It had been the custom for the English officers of the sepoy regiments to draw full batta, and this had lasted so long that it was at last regarded as a right. The Court directed that this should be reduced by one half, and the order commonly known as the "half batta order," was issued in November, 1828. This measure brought the Governor-General into great and undeserved unpopularity. The directions of the Court were peremptory, and he had nothing to do but to obey them. He himself said, when forwarding certain remonstrances to England, that he would be sincerely gratified if the Court should see fit to reconsider their orders. The clamour against him individually soon died out. It may be mentioned that, notwithstanding the virulence of the attacks made upon him in the press, he exercised against it none of the powers he possessed; but, when once the order of the Directors was published, he forbade all discussion, feeling that the time for comment had past.

When Lord William Bentinck became Governor-General, he entered on an inheritance of public debt. He found a deficit of a crore of rupees; but he set himself resolutely to the task of correcting this serious defect both by a reduction of expenditure and by creating an increase of revenue. More fortunate than his predecessors in enjoying a period of peace, he was not thwarted in his policy by the terrible incubus of war. Two commissions or committees were

appointed to make full inquiries into both the military and the civil expenses. Reductions were made in the military expenditure. Reforms were made in the civil administration. The chief improvement effected was in the settlement of the North West Provinces, which had for many years been in progress, under Mr. Robert Merttins Bird, one of the best and ablest revenue officers in the Bengal Civil Service. This settlement was effected with the object and the sincere desire not only of simplifying the collection, and of increasing the amount, of the revenue, but also of conducing to the growing prosperity and happiness of the people. Of course Lord William was not himself the author of this excellent settlement, but he was responsible for seeing it properly carried into effect; and he was greatly assisted in this and other reforms by his two very able members of Council, Mr. Butterworth Bayley and Sir Charles Metcalfe.

Lord William Bentinck also carried out the wishes of the Court of Directors in more fully employing Hindus and Muhammadans in the public service. Hitherto they had been employed only in very subordinate posts; but, during the present administration, large and more important powers were given to them, and the way was prepared for the much larger share in the government of the country which they now possess. The right way to govern India is by the best of the people themselves under English supervision and control. This is well put in a despatch sent at that time to the Governor-General from the President of the Board of Control, "We have a great moral duty to perform to the people of India. We must give them a good and permanent government. In doing this we confer a greater benefit upon the people of this country than in sacrificing the interests of India to the apparent present interests of England. The real interests of both countries are the same." We believe that these are the sentiments which the Governors-General and the other rulers of India have always entertained, and upon which they have honestly desired to act.

We believe that Lord William Bentinck faithfully

desired to act upon them in the next two measures which we shall mention, and with which his name is, perhaps, more indissolubly connected than with any others—namely, the suppression of Thuggee and the abolition of Suttee.

It is well-known what an appalling scourge to the country the Thugs were. The secret and subtle manner in which they decoyed, and then murdered their victims; by rapidly strangling them, need not be related, for all the people of India know it well by tradition though the present generation are not acquainted with it personally as their fathers and grandfathers were by the frequent loss of dear relatives and friends. Special means were taken by the Governor-General to ensure the suppression of these public enemies and pests. Systematic means were adopted for stamping them out in all parts of the country where this pernicious practice was most rife; numbers of Thugs were tracked, captured, and brought to justice; and the whole murderous brotherhood was broken up and destroyed.

But the great measure by which the name of Lord William Bentinck has been endeared to Hindus is the abolition of Suttee. A few Hindus may, perhaps, be still found, who imagine that this rite was an integral part of their ancient religion, and ought, therefore, not to have been abolished; but these must be very few indeed, and thousands of helpless women who have been spared a painful and cruel death, have had cause to bless the memory of Lord William Bentinck. The attention of successive Governors-General as well as that of others in lower authority had been drawn to this practice; but, though it was universally condemned by Englishmen, and by highminded Hindus like Rammohun Roy, it was considered dangerous to abolish it for fear of interfering with the religious customs of the Hindus and of creating disaffection and discontent. The new Governor-General, warned by his experience at Madras in connection with the mutiny of Vellore, was particularly careful in making inquiries on the subject and in fully ascertaining the mind of the people. He acted in the most cautious way. Both the civil and the military

authorities were consulted. Those who were most learned in the languages and the customs of the Hindus were asked their opinion. The judges and officers of the Nizamut Adawlut gave their judgment in favour of abolition, and the experienced members of the Supreme Council agreed with them. Having thus taken beforehand every precaution to ascertain the feelings of the Hindu people, the Government acted, and a Regulation dated December 4, 1829, was past, declaring that the practice of Suttee was illegal and punishable by the Criminal Courts. This practice, it was said, was revolting to the feelings of human nature, and was nowhere enjoined by the religion of the Hindus as an imperative duty.

Lord William Bentinck, a few weeks before this Regulation was past, wrote a long Minute on the subject, giving his own personal views on it, and reviewing the evidence that had been laid before him. As we are looking at the matter specially from his point of view, we think that we shall serve our purpose best by making a few quotations from this celebrated paper, in order to show how completely he was influenced by the desire of doing just what was most for the benefit of the Hindu people, as well as by the wish "to wash out a foul stain upon British rule" and upon humanity. He begins by stating the deep responsibility incurred by the decision to be arrived at, and the heavy weight on his own conscience regarding it. "Prudence and self-interest," he says, "would counsel me to tread in the footsteps of my predecessors; but, in a case of such momentous importance to humanity and civilisation that man must be reckless of all his present and future happiness who could listen to the dictates of so wicked and selfish a policy. With the firm, undoubting conviction entertained upon this question, I should be guilty of little short of the crime of multiplied murder if I could hesitate in the performance of this solemn obligation. I have been already stung with this feeling. Every day's delay adds a victim to the dreadful list." He then, "praying the blessing of God upon our counsels," proceeds to state all his reasons, which we need not here set forth in full. After stating the

opinions from various quarters which he had received, he says, "It may be justly asserted that the Government in this act will only be following, not preceding, the tide of public opinion long flowing in this direction." "The first and primary object of my heart," he emphatically asserts, "is the benefit of the Hindus. I know nothing so important to the improvement of their future condition as the establishment of a purer morality, whatever their belief, and more just conception of the will of God. The first step to this better understanding will be dissociation of religious belief and practice from blood and murder. They will then view with more calmness acknowledged truths. They will see that there can be no inconsistency in the ways of Providence, that to the command received as divine by all races of men, 'No innocent blood shall be spilt,' there can be no exception; and when they shall have been convinced of the error of this first and most criminal of their customs, may it not be hoped that others which stand in the way of their improvement may likewise pass away, and that, thus emancipated from these chains and shackles upon their minds and actions, they may no longer continue the slaves of every foreign conqueror, but that they may assume their just place among the great families of mankind?" This was very plain speaking, and the result shows the benefit of speaking out plainly and candidly on such great questions as these. If a thing is morally wrong it is better to say clearly that it is so, whether the writer is a Governor-General or a private individual, than to slur the matter over and leave people to imagine that he was no opinion of his own or strength of mind to declare them. He then adds what the Government of India has constantly affirmed: "I disown in these remarks or in this measure any view whatever to conversion to our own faith. I write and feel as a legislator for the Hindus, and as I believe many enlightened Hindus think and feel." We have thus given a few of the sentiments of the Governor-General on this very important subject, because as we are writing a sketch of his life, we wish to present the whole subject in the way in which it

presented itself to him. The only comment we need add is that the Hindu community at large and millions of Hindu women from that time to this, as well as those yet unborn, have, and will continue to have, every reason to bless the name of Lord William Bentinck, without whose energetic action this beneficent measure might never have been past.

Another important measure past during his administration was a regulation which really had the effect of upholding liberty of conscience. It was a principle of the English Government from the earliest times that both Muhammadan and Hindu should, in matters connected with property, inherit according to the laws of the religion to which each might belong. Hindu legislators had enacted that ancestral property should descend only to those who performed the funeral rites of the deceased whose property he inherited, thus, of course, disinheriting all who, for conscience sake, had forsaken their hereditary religion. Lord William Bentinck, taking advantage of the opportunity of re-enacting certain regulations, introduced a clause providing that "the Hindu and Muhammedan law of inheritance should apply only to those who were *bonâ-fide* professors of those religions at the time of its application." He also past a Regulation permitting converts to Christianity to hold appointments under Government, which, prior to 1831, they had been unable to do. A clause in the Regulation referred to enacted that no one should be excluded from office on account of caste, creed, or nation. These provisions were wise and just, and all classes of the Indian community have thus been benefited.

Another measure by which Lord William Bentinck's administration was rendered memorable was one regarding education. There was at that time a sharp conflict between two parties—one advocating the use of English as the official language of the country, and as the language of education; and the other maintaining that Persian should be retained as the language used in courts of law, and Sanskrit and Arabic as the medium for instruction. One party were called "Anglicists" and the other "Orientalists."

The Governor-General was decidedly in favour of the former; but the one whose opinion carried the day was Mr., afterwards Lord, Macaulay, the distinguished essayist, poet, and historian. He had recently been appointed the first Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council. This question of language became about the time of his arrival in India very acute. There was then sitting a General Committee of Public Instruction, of which he was appointed President; but he declined to act on it until the Government had decided what course it would take on this vital question. The members of this Committee were equally divided. The scale was turned by a very powerful paper by Mr. Macaulay as a member of the Supreme Council. This minute, written in his clear, classic style, has become quite historic. It was, in fact, the beginning of a new era in the education of the youth of India, and it will be not too much to say that the educational policy of the Government of twenty years later was founded on the principles that it advocated. There was, of course, something to be said on the other side of the question. Encouragement ought to be given by a Government situated as the Government of India is, to the study of Oriental languages, like Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian; but there can be no controverting the fact asserted by Macaulay that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia." In advocating a language, to be used as the means of instruction he eloquently pleaded for English. "It stands," he said, "pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us; with models of every species of eloquence; with historical compositions which considered merely as narratives have seldom been surpassed, and which considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction have never been equalled; with just and lively representations of human life and human nature; with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, and trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the

health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man." These principles were affirmed in the Resolution of the Governor-General in Council, dated March 7, 1835, which said that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the people of India, and that the funds appropriated to education would be best employed on English education alone." English has since become the classical language of India. Hindus, early taught to use it even in their homes, speak it, in many instances, as fluently and correctly as Englishmen themselves; it has become the language of education, of commerce, and of social intercourse; and Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, and above all, the English Bible, are better known than the Vedas, the Mahabharata, and the Ramayana. But a word must be spoken for the Anglicists of those days. While they advocated English as the language of education as against Arabic and Sanskrit, they never intended that the Vernaculars of India—the languages spoken by the people, should be neglected, especially in the case of lower education.

During this administration great efforts were made in several parts of India, and particularly in Rajputana, to put down the inhuman practice of infanticide. These efforts were attended with considerable success. One of the Rajput chiefs, the Maharana of Udaipur and others had issued orders for its suppression, and the Governor-General wrote with his own hand a letter of congratulation and approval to each, of which we give the following specimen: "It is with pleasure that I advert to a subject which excites in my breast feelings of pure and unmixed satisfaction. It appears that your Highness has issued an order prohibiting the practice of female infanticide. The fact that it has been issued furnishes a proof that your personal conduct is influenced by genuine philanthropy; and the circumstance is accepted by me as a pledge of your readiness to use your best endeavours to put down a crime, the entire suppression of which is an object which the British Government has much at heart." This was no mere cold official note, but a warm and graceful acknowledgment of a

right act, which was worthy of a statesman in Lord William Bentinck's high position when addressing a friendly ally.

With the exception of the brief war in Coorg, the time of Lord William's administration was eminently peaceful. The Rajah of that small state had been guilty of injustice and inhumanity to such an extent that, when, after a campaign of only ten days, his territory was conquered, and annexed to the British dominions, even his own people rejoiced. Negotiations were conducted with several states, the principal of which were the Punjab and Mysore.

Mysore, which, on the downfall of Tippoo, had been placed in the hands of the youthful representative of the ancient Rajahs, was admirably governed during the days of Poornea, the prime minister; but, when he was set on one side, it rapidly degenerated, and the state of affairs became so bad that the Governor-General placed the whole country under the Government of the British officers, under which it remained until 1881, when it was restored to the Maharajah's descendant on his becoming of age.

Negotiations with Runjit Sing also took place to which we need not now more particularly refer, but which had an important bearing on the affairs of the next administration by inducing the sovereign of the Punjab to place confidence in the intentions of the English Government, and hereafter to join the well-known Tripartite Treaty against Dost Muhammad. An interview between Lord William Bentinck and Runjit Sing occurred at Rupar on the Sutlej on October 22, 1831. The former came down from Simla, where he was then staying, and delighted Runjit Sing, who was most apprehensive of treachery, by the cordiality of his reception.

The Governor-General was most anxious to see things with his own eyes, and, with this object, took several tours to the North-West Provinces, the newly acquired province of Lower Burma, and the Presidency of Madras. Latterly, his health quite gave way, and he was obliged to go, for change of scene, to Ootacamund in the midst of what Lord Tennyson called,

"The sweet half-English Neilgherry air." He was

staying at that pleasant retreat, when, in the year 1834, the new arrangements for the Government required by the renewal of the East India Company's Charter had to be made; and thither Mr. Macaulay, the new legal Member of Council, went from Madras on his arrival from England, and first took his seat in the Council held there. When Lord William was at Calcutta, he showed what his nephew, Mr. Greville, called "magnificent hospitality." He was assisted right royally in this by Lady William Bentinck, who was also his true helpmeet in all his numerous charities and gifts. This lady, whom Sir Charles Metcalfe called "most engaging," was a delightful character, and, even when her husband was in disfavour with the English public quite won the hearts of all the society of Calcutta, whether English or Hindu. She was full of kindness and sympathy, and so thoroughly unselfish that she had a scrupulous fear even of trespassing on the ease and convenience of others. We cannot refrain from quoting part of what her nephew said of her at the time of her death. "She was not merely charitable," he wrote, "but charity itself, not only in relieving and assisting the necessitous, but in always putting the most indulgent constructions on the motives and conduct of others, in a childlike simplicity, in believing the best of everybody, and an incredulity of evil report, which proceeded from a mind itself incapable of doing wrong. Hers was one of those rare dispositions which nature had made of its very best materials." Instead of "nature" we would have written "God," because she seems to have been as pious as she was sweet and attractive. She survived her husband about four years, and died April 30, 1843.

Lord William Bentinck's character has been viewed from two opposite sides by those who approved, and by those who disapproved, of his measures. We give the estimate formed of it by his two most distinguished colleagues, Lord Macaulay and Lord Metcalfe, both of whom had the very best means, and the most frequent opportunities, of making themselves acquainted with it, and of forming an independent judgment. Both are above suspicion of party

feeling. Lord Macaulay wrote, soon after making his acquaintance: "He is, as far as I can yet judge, all that I have heard; that is to say, rectitude, openness, and good-nature, personified." Many months of continual intercourse confirmed him in this opinion, and he summed up his feelings towards him in the closing words of his article on Lord Clive, with which we purpose to conclude this sketch; and, on his being requested to omit that clause in the above article, he wrote this strong expression: "I cannot consent to leave out the well-earned compliment to my dear old friend, Lord William Bentinck, of whom Victor Jacquemont said as truly as wittily, that he was William Penn on the throne of the Great Mogul, and at the head of two hundred thousand soldiers." Lord Metcalfe's first impression was that the Governor-General was unaffected, open, candid, and benevolent. This is the more valuable, because he imagined that Lord William's mind had been set against him, and that his manner towards himself was cold and reserved. This estrangement soon passed off. These two eminent statesmen worked cordially together, from that time until the day when Metcalfe returned to Calcutta, after a brief absence, to bid the departing Governor-General an affectionate farewell, and, for a season, to take his place.

Lord William Bentinck was most happy in having had a peaceful period for his rule in India. It was a green and cheerful oasis between times of war—both within the country and without. He came to occupy the Governor-General's seat at Calcutta avowedly as a reformer; and in this direction he used his opportunity to the best advantage. He knew that he had behind him the approval, and, more than the approval, the instructions, of the Court of Directors, who, as in the case of exercising economy and of making reductions in the expenditure had given him their most imperative orders. He found the Government a crore of rupees in debt: he left it with a surplus of a crore and a half. He will be best remembered by that great measure, the abolition of Suttee; but what he did for education, for the improvement of the settlement in the

North-West Provinces, for the reformation of the civil service and the judicial department, for the more generous employment of Hindus and Muhammadans in the service of the state, has left broad marks of good, which have deepened and broadened in later years; and it is scarcely too much to say that recent reforms have been carried out on the lines which he and his distinguished coadjutors laid down.

Lord William left Calcutta March 20, 1835. On his return to his native land, he was offered a seat in the House of Lords, but he declined it because he wished to serve again in political life in the House of Commons. Two years later he was elected member for the city of Glasgow in Scotland; but he did not do much service in Parliament as he spent a good deal of his time in Paris. He died there on June 17, 1839.

A monument was erected to his memory on the *maidán* in Calcutta, which was raised partly by English, but chiefly by Hindu, subscriptions, and which bears the following inscription written by Lord Macaulay: "To William Cavendish Bentinck, who ruled India with eminent prudence, integrity, and benevolence; who, placed at the head of a great Empire, never laid aside the simplicity and moderation of a private citizen; who infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom; who never forgot that the end of Government is the happiness of the governed; who abolished cruel rites; who effaced humiliating distinctions; who gave liberty to the expression of public opinion; whose constant study it was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nation committed to his charge." Referring to this monument Lord Macaulay himself says, when speaking of Clive in his capacity of a reformer, nor will history deny to him "a share of that veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot, and with which the latest generations of Hindus will contemplate the statue of Lord William Bentinck."



THE EARL OF AUCKLAND.

THE EARL OF AUCKLAND.

FROM A. D. 1784 TO 1819.

“What stronger breastplate than a heart untainted !
 Thrice is he arm'd that hath his quarrel just ;
 And he but naked, though locked up in steel ;
 Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted.”

Shakespeare.

IN the neighbourhood of Beckenham in the county of Kent, about ten miles from London, is a pleasant estate, called Eden Farm. The house is now deserted and in ruins. George Eden, afterwards the Earl of Auckland and Governor-General of India, was born there on August 25th, 1784. He was the second son of William Eden, a very great friend and colleague of the distinguished statesman, William Pitt, who did such good service as Prime Minister of England at the end of the last century and the beginning of this. His father, who, in 1793, was created a peer with the title of Lord Auckland, died suddenly in 1814, and was succeeded by his son George, his eldest son having died four years before. Lady Auckland was the sister of Lord Minto, who was Governor-General of India from 1807 to 1813.

The subject of this memoir took the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Oxford in 1806, and in 1809 he was called to the English Bar, thus adopting the law as his nominal profession. His real profession, however, was that of politics. He entered the House of Commons in 1811; and joined the party which was then generally known as the ‘Whig’ party. When his friends came into power under Lord Grey, he entered the Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade. He was afterwards First Lord of the Admiralty, under his great friend Lord Melbourne, Lord Grey’s successor as Prime Minister of England. On the receipt of Lord William Bentinck’s resignation, the Court of Directors were very anxious that the appointment of Governor-General should be conferred on that eminent civilian Sir Charles Metcalfe, who, as senior Member of Council at

Calcutta, assumed charge of the office on Lord William Bentinck's departure; but the Cabinet thought it wiser to act on the principle laid down by Mr. Cauning, when President of the Board of Control, that the highest office of the Government of India should be occupied by an English statesman, the reason being, as explained in a previous memoir, that the Governor-General should be perfectly free from Indian cliques or parties. Another English nobleman was appointed by the Tory party, which had acceded to power at that time for a few months; but, when the Whigs again came into office, this appointment was cancelled, and it was given to Lord Auckland—a proceeding which seems to us most inconsistent, because it made the interests of India of less esteem than the promotion of party and political interests. This ought never to be the case whatever party is in power. There was no doubt, however, as to the satisfaction with which Lord Auckland's name was generally received. He was a good man of business, was heartily desirous of doing good, was ready to learn and to adapt himself to new ideas and modes of thought. As he expressed himself at the banquet given in his honour by the Court of Directors before he left England, he looked forward with exultation to the new prospects opening out before him, affording him an opportunity of doing good to his fellow-creatures, of promoting education and knowledge, of improving the administration of justice in India, and of extending the blessings of good government and happiness to millions in that country. He was quiet and unostentatious in manner, and he was, almost to a fault, too prone not to rely on his own judgment and resources.

Lord Auckland sailed from Portsmouth on October 3, 1835, in the frigate *Jupiter*. He was accompanied by two of his sisters, the Honorable Misses Emily and Frances Eden. These ladies had the strongest affection for their brother, whose home they did so much to brighten and enliven. They loved him, as Mr. Greville, a chatty chronicler of those times, said, "as a husband, a brother, and a friend combined in one." Their letters giving an account

of their impressions of India afford us a pleasant insight into the Governor-General's household; and, like the journals to which we have in former memoirs referred, enable us to see public events from within as well as from without. The voyage to India lasted five months, which was a long time for one of His Majesty's ships to take. They arrived at Calcutta about ten o'clock on the evening of March 4, 1836; and, even at that late hour, the new Governor-General took the customary oaths and thus assumed charge of his high office. One of his first ceremonies of state was the investiture of Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had been acting as Governor-General for the past two years, with the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath in recognition of his services to the State. The manner in which Lord Auckland performed this duty showed the kindness of his heart. He concluded his short speech, which much pleased those who heard it, by saying that he could have no better object set before him than the endeavour to emulate Sir Charles's example. It was a pleasant ceremony and a worthy beginning to the Governor-General's administration, so that the looking of it from another point of view is not intended to detract from its dignity, but to show his character as a man. His sister Emily writes in her journal-letter the evening before the ceremony took place:—"Visited George in his room, and he rehearsed the speech to Sir Charles Metcalfe which he is to make to-morrow, and I acted Sir Charles, and stood steady to have the red ribbon put on me."

The first nineteen months were spent in Calcutta with occasional visits to Barrackpore. Lord Auckland and his sisters were during this time becoming accustomed to life in India. The heat tried them very much, and the ladies were continually looking back with regret to the scenes and friends they had left in England. They liked Barrackpore much better than Calcutta, because the house and grounds there looked more English. "Barrackpore is a charming place," one sister wrote, "like a beautiful English villa on the banks of the Thames—so green and fresh; the house just holds George, Fanny (the pet name for

Frances) and me, the rest of the party all sleep in thatched cottages built in the park; the drawing and dining rooms are immense, and each person requires two or three rooms besides a bath in this country, so as to be able to change rooms from the sun." "The house," the younger sister wrote, "is the perfection of comfort, and, moreover, holds only three: the aides-de-camp and waiters live in little bungalows about the park, which is a thorough English one, with plenty of light and shade. The gardens are very pretty." They spent many happy days there. Lord Auckland was immersed in business, which apparently he enjoyed. He had much to learn, and liked learning it. These early months were not marked by any important political events. We need not linger over them, and it will be sufficient just to give a brief description of the daily life at Government House at Calcutta. "We breakfast at nine," Miss Emily Eden wrote, "and dawdle about the hall for a quarter of an hour, reading the papers, and doing a little civility to the household; then Fanny and I go to the drawing-room and work and write till twelve, when I go up to my own room, and read and write till two. At two we all meet for luncheon, and George brings with him anybody who may happen to be doing business with him at the time. I pay George a short visit after luncheon, and then I go up to my own room, and have three hours and a half comfortably by myself. At six we go out. George and I ride every day. Dine at eight, and retire at ten." With certain variations this was the usual routine. The Governor-General was hard at work during the greater part of the day. This mode of life suited him, and when he had been a year in the country it seemed to him as if it had been only half that time. The brother and sisters were drawn very near to each other during this constant intercourse; and the elder wrote regarding him: "I really feel every day that I would not be away from George for any earthly consideration. If it were in the slightest degree possible to repay him any part of the obligation I owe him, this is, I think, the only opportunity. He could not have existed

here alone, and, for want of other colleagues, I see constantly that it is a comfort to him to have me to talk over his little brothers with."

*A great change in this quiet life was now made. On October 21, 1837, Lord Auckland and his sisters, accompanied by the large retinue required to keep up the Governor-General's state, started for a tour through the Upper Provinces to Simla. They arrived there on April 3, 1838, having been nearly six months on the way. Miss Eden gives a picturesque account of the start from Calcutta early in the morning of October 21. When the Governor-General's party came down to the large hall of Government House for coffee in the gloaming of the morn, they found a number of their particular friends assembled to bid them farewell. Even Mr. Macaulay had come for this purpose. The two Misses Eden soon drove down to the landing-place. A double line of troops was drawn up on each side of the road from Government House to the river, through which Lord Auckland walked, and his sister records that he was "not so shy as he used to be at these ceremonies." "The instant he arrived at the ghaut," she adds, "he gave a general good-bye, offered me his arm, and we walked off as fast as we could. The guns fired, the gentlemen waved their hats, and so we left Calcutta." They were not to return for four years and a half, during which momentous events occurred, and then only to bid farewell to India. They went as far as Benares by water, and proceeded thence by land, going by certain fixed stages day by day, and halting at important towns, where receptions and durbars were held. The life was quite new to them; and at first, having been accustomed to dwelling in houses, they found it strange and uncomfortable. They soon got used to it, however, and were evidently pleased by its novelty. This is how Miss Eden describes her first experience of camp life: "We landed at five, and drove four miles through immense crowds and much dust to our camp. The first evening of tents was more uncomfortable than I had ever fancied. Everybody kept saying, 'What a magnificent camp!' and I thought I

never had seen such squalid, melancholy discomfort. George, Frances, and I have three private tents, and a fourth, to make up the square, for our sitting-room, and great covered passages, leading from one tent to the other. They say that everybody begins by hating their tents and ends by loving them, but at present I am much prepossessed in favour of a house. Opposite to our private tents is the great dining tent, and the durbar tent, which is less shut up, and will be less melancholy to live in." Again, "George cannot endure his tent," she wrote, "or the camp life altogether, and it certainly is very much opposed to all his habits of business and regularity."

Miss Eden was delighted with her peep at Benares, where they threaded the narrow streets first in carriages, then on elephants, and, where the streets were too strait, in tonjons. They saw some beautiful temples, and altogether it seemed to her 'a curious sight.' One evening they went to the Raja's country-house at Ramnuggur. The Governor-General went "first in the silver tonjon which took him down to the boat, then in the other state silver tonjon that took him up from the ghant, and then a back view of him on his elephant." Then comes a passage which we may appropriately call a private view of the Governor-General:—"I often wonder whether it really can be George, the original, simple, quiet one. He does it very well, but detests a great part of the ceremonies, particularly embracing the rajas." She was particularly struck by the illuminations. "Wherever there was a straight line, or a window, or an arch, there was a row of little bright lamps; every cross of the lattices in every window had its little lamp."

At Cawnpore the son of the Nawab of Oude came to meet his Excellency, and was received at a state durbar. A few days afterwards a visit was paid, to the Nawab at Lucknow, where, the Nawab being ill, the honours were done by his son. The Governor-General's party were entertained at the Residency, Lord Auckland himself remaining at Cawnpore. The poor invalid Nawab was, however, quite touched, according to Mr. Macnaghten's

account, by the letter in which he had praised the heir-apparent's demeanour, the latter salaaming three times over his outstretched hand. The Nawab's garden charmed the ladies. "There are four small palaces in it," Miss Eden says, "fitted up with velvet and gold and marble, with arabesque ceilings, orange trees and roses in all directions, with quantities of wild paroquets of bright colours glancing about. In one palace there was an immense bathroom of white marble, the arches intersecting each other, and the marble inlaid with cornelian and bloodstone; and in every corner of the palace there were little fountains." She pronounces it a very garden of delights.

Very different were the scenes they beheld on their starting from Cawnpore. For several months a famine had been raging in the Upper Provinces, and it had been seriously suggested that the Governor-General's progress should be arrested, owing to the drain which the large camp might occasion; but the wants of the camp were supplied from Oude, which had not been thus afflicted, and the march was continued. The entries in Miss Eden's journal are very sad. "There has been no rain for a year and a half; the cattle all died, and the people are all dying or gone away. They are employed at Cawnpore by Government; every man who likes to do the semblance of a day's work is paid for it, and there is a subscription for feeding those who are unable to work at all." When once the great camp had started, the party, unaccustomed to such scenes, were deeply moved at the distress they were obliged to witness. The large assemblage, however, were able to do more good than harm. Being well supplied from Oude, "we can give away more than other travellers." In fact, the greatest kindness and attention were shown to the starving people who swarmed about the camp.

Prince Henry of Orange, son of the King of Holland, joined the camp at Futtehpore, and left the Governor-General's party at Lucknow. He is described as a fair, quiet-looking boy, very shy and very silent. "His father wrote such a pretty letter to George about him," writes Miss Eden, and the fact of this fresh, easily pleased youth

being in the camp, added an additional zest to the life which was evidently becoming very attractive to all concerned. Delhi, in its splendid decay, particularly struck Miss Eden. It was the only place, except Lucknow, that came up to her expectations. "For miles round it," she says, "there is nothing to be seen but gigantic ruins of mosques and palaces, and the actual living city has the finest mosque we have seen yet. It is in such perfect preservation, built entirely of red stone and white marble, with immense flights of marble steps leading up to three sides of it; these were entirely covered with people dressed in very bright colours—all assembled to see the Governor-General's *suwarí*, and I do not think I ever saw so striking a scene." All but Lord Auckland, went to see the palace. There must have been some failure in the negotiations with the faded royalty of Delhi, which were more favourable when Lord Amherst visited the Emperor. "The lattices of the marble hall," is the sad entry in Miss Eden's journal, "look out on a garden, and the old king was sitting in it with a *chowry badar* waving the flies from him; but the garden is all gone to decay too, and the 'Light of the World' had a forlorn and darkened look."

At length the stately progress of the Governor-General came to an end. On March 30, he held a *darbar* at which he presented shawls and matchlocks to the subadars of the regiments that had acted as his escort and which delighted all the Hindus and Muhammadans who accompanied the camp. The idea was Miss Eden's and her reward was being told that "our lordship was the first that had ever been so good to natives." They arrived at Simla on April 3. All were charmed by the beauty of the place. Miss Eden is, as usual, amusing over the change which she thoroughly enjoyed. "No wonder I could not live down below!" She laughingly writes, "We never were allowed a scrap of air to breathe—now I come back to the air again, I remember all about it. It is a cool sort of stuff, refreshing, sweet, and apparently pleasant to the lungs. We have fires in every room, and the windows open; red rhododendron trees in bloom in every direction,

and beautiful walks cut on all sides of the hills. Good ! I see this is to be the best part of India." The novelty of the march and the change to the pure climate of the Hills were most beneficial to the whole party, especially to Lord Auckland. During the former his sister wrote :—"George detests his tent and his march and the whole business so actively, that he will not perceive how well he is." On leaving Simla she wrote, as she looked back to the happy time spent there :—"We have had seven very quiet months, with good health and in a good climate, and in beautiful scenery."

During these seven very quiet months, however, the whole political aspect of India had changed, and to the events which led up to this we must now direct our attention. When Lord Auckland left Calcutta, he was separated from his Council, and this fact induced the English public in India to assume that he fell so completely into the power of the very distinguished civilians who accompanied him that they persuaded him to adopt the policy that led to the first Afghan war. Before considering the true facts of the case, therefore, the evidence regarding which we have been carefully weighing again so that we may relate them briefly with the most perfect impartiality, we must say a few words regarding those gentlemen who bore the greatest part in subsequent events. The first was the Chief Secretary to Government, Mr. afterwards Sir, William Hay Macnaghten. This eminent public servant had been an officer in the Madras Cavalry before he joined the Bengal Civil Service. He was an extremely accomplished man, and an experienced linguist. When quite a young man Lord Hastings said of him that there was not a language taught in college in which he had not obtained the highest distinction. "He is clever and pleasant," to use Miss Eden's amusing language, "speaks Persian rather more fluently than English ; Arabic better than Persian ; but, for familiar conversation, rather prefers Sanskrit." He was an excellent man of business, and was thoroughly acquainted with Hindu and Muhammadan customs and modes of thought. His assistant was Mr. Henry Torrens,

a very brilliant and versatile man. He acted and sang well, besides being thoroughly versed in Persian and Urdu. The one, however, with whom the Governor-General was most frequently brought into contact was his Private Secretary, Mr. John Russell Colvin. This gentleman was a distinguished member of the Civil Service, in which he held many important posts, and ultimately became Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. He was one of the few friends in Calcutta towards whom Lord Macaulay was peculiarly drawn. Lord Auckland, who had made inquiry on the subject even before leaving England, was pleased to offer him the responsible appointment of Private Secretary, and, for six years, he retained this very difficult post. Calm, judicious, reticent, and yet withal courteous and genial, he seems to have been exactly suited to it. Popular rumour attributed the coming Afghan war to the influence exercised over the wavering character of Lord Auckland by the three able men whom we have just mentioned. It is not, however, an every-day occurrence for both father and son to hold, after an interval, the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the same Province; and it is not often that a son is in the position to defend his father's memory from aspersions cast upon his official conduct. Sir Auckland Colvin has recently published a little volume in which he has, we believe successfully, endeavoured to perform this filial duty. We have carefully sifted the evidence regarding these events, which Sir John Kaye gave in his *History of the War in Afghanistan*, and find that it was confessedly due, to a very great extent, to unsupported rumour and conjecture. The war may have been unjust and ill-advised; but Lord Auckland simply carried out the instructions which he had received from the authorities in England, and was not merely acting as a puppet in the hands of his immediate advisers.

When the Governor-General arrived at Calcutta, he found India in a state of profound repose; but he had not been long in office before he found that there was much apprehension regarding affairs in Persia and Afghanistan beyond the north-west borders of this country. The subject

had to be viewed from two points of view, the European and the Indian. In England there had at that time grown up an exaggerated fear of Russian encroachments. This was very much due to the writings and actions of a young Bombay officer, Lieutenant, afterwards Sir, Alexander Burnes. He had travelled through Afghanistan and the surrounding countries, and had become very popular during his furlough in England. Russia had recently been interfering in the affairs of Persia, where she had gained a secure footing, which was considered adverse to British interests. On June 25, 1836, the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors sent a despatch to the Governor-General, which he received before the close of that year, and in which occur the following sentences:—"The mode of dealing with this very important question," that is, the mode of counteracting the progress of Russian influence, "whether by despatching a confidential agent to Dost Muhammad Khan, the Amir of Afghanistan, merely to watch the progress of events, or to enter into relations with this chief, either of a political or merely, in the first instance, of a commercial character, we confide to your discretion, as well as the adoption of any other measures that may appear to you desirable in order to counteract Russian influence in that quarter, should you be satisfied that the time has arrived at which it would be right for you to interfere decidedly in the affairs of Afghanistan. Such an interference might doubtless be requisite, either to prevent the extension of Persian dominion in that quarter, or to raise a timely barrier against the impending encroachments of Russian influence." The Governor-General was requested to give to this matter his immediate and most earnest attention. Acting on these directions, he gave this view of affairs his most careful *consideration*. He had already ordered Captain Burnes to go to Kabal, through Scinde and the Punjab, and to treat with Dost Muhammad Khan about commercial matters; but the Amir was too shrewd a man not to see that more than commerce was intended, and the veil was very soon dropped. The real object of the mission was political. There is an interesting account

of Captain Burnes' proceedings at Kabul in the narrative of his journeys published more than fifty years ago by Mr. Masson, who was at that time in that city. We see no reason to doubt the general accuracy of his statements about what he saw and heard there, and if only half of what he wrote can be believed, Captain Burnes was a most unsuitable representative of the honour and dignity of England.

We have now to look at affairs from the Indian point of view. The safety of India from invasion from the north-west and the security of its north-west frontier were the chief objects to be considered, no matter by whom they might be menaced. The Shah of Persia had attacked Herat, which was then called the "gate" or the "key" of India. There was beginning to be a panic, which afterwards came to a head, throughout the whole of India. It was necessary that there should be friendly relations between Ranjit Sing, the Maharaja of the Punjab, the Amir of Afghanistan, and the British Government. The difficulty was to adjust the relations between the two former. The Maharaja had recently taken Peshawar, and Dost Muhammad Khan demanded the good offices of the British Government to induce Ranjit Sing to give it back as the price of his alliance. Captain Burnes promised that it should be returned, thus exceeding his instructions, for which he was rebuked by the Governor-General. A Russian officer had made his appearance at Kabul during Captain Burnes' stay there, but was received with studied coldness and neglect. When the latter's mission failed, however, for the Governor-General could not alienate the friendship of Ranjit Sing by insisting on the surrender of Peshawar, the Russian officer was ostentatiously received into favour. He was profuse in his promises of aid from Russia; but it is scarcely fair to assume that his credentials were genuine, when his own Government denied him their support. The refusal of Dost Muhammad Khan to enter into full alliance with the British Government led to war. Before leaving this brief sketch of the negotiations with him, it is only just to the memory of Sir Alexander Burnes

to say that he was consistent in the high opinion he entertained of Dost Muhammad, whom he considered an able and a strong ruler, and deservedly popular among the Afghans, especially among the leading tribes.

The Governor-General was much distressed at the negotiations with Dost Muhammad Khan having failed. He was anxious to have a friendly state in the Punjab and to have equally friendly relations with the Amirs of Scinde on the banks of the Indus; and, at the same time, to feel that there was an ally in the highlands of Afghanistan; thus raising a triple barrier or rampart between British India and any hostile designs that might be formed by Persia at the suggestion of Russia. Dost Muhammad having declined to enter into any alliance with the Indian Government unless at the price of Peshawar, which would have offended and alienated Ranjít Sing, it was necessary to carry out the policy of the authorities in England in another manner. On May 12, 1838, the Governor-General wrote a long Minute, in which he discussed the several courses open to him to adopt. The first course was what we who, after more than fifty years, imagine would have been the best policy, that is, to leave Afghanistan alone, and to confine defensive measures to the line of the Indus; but this he believed would mean absolute humiliation and would leave a free opening to Russian and Persian intrigue on the frontier of India. The Shah of Persia was at that time besieging Herat, which was an Afghan city. Russian officers were in the Persian commander's camp, and the city was being stoutly defended by the Afghans, encouraged by a young English officer, whose name was Eldred Pottinger. The course which most recommended itself to Lord Auckland was to encourage the advance of Ranjít Sing's army on Kabul; and to prepare an expedition for invading Afghanistan under Shah Shuja-ul-mulk. Shah Shuja was the late Amir of Afghanistan, who had been defeated and driven out of the country by Dost Muhammad Khan, and had since lived as a pensioner at Ludiana. Shah Shuja was as incapable a ruler as his rival was the reverse; but the English officers in the Punjab believed in

his ability, and all who had lately been concerned in the affairs of Kabul stated that he was beloved by the people and would be warmly welcomed back. Dost Muhammad Khan and he belonged to different Afghan tribes. Meanwhile, before finally deciding on his course of action, Lord Auckland sent Mr. Macnaghten to carry on negotiations with Ranjit Sing. It was with a keen pang of regret that he entertained the idea of war. "All I am doing," he wrote on July 12, 1838, to Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, "is well justified by the avowed policy of the Persian Court and by the hostile proceedings of the Russian agents; and you may assume it for next to certain that I shall go onwards, with many a deep feeling of regret that I am not allowed to prosecute measures of peace and of peaceful improvement, but with a perfect conviction that it is only by a bold front and by strong exertion that the aggressions and the dangers with which we are threatened can be warded off."

After the return of Mr. Macnaghten to Simla, the Governor-General considered it was his duty to enter into alliance with Ranjit Sing and Shah Shuja for the purpose of restoring the latter to his throne. This alliance was embodied in what is known as the Tripartite Treaty. It was followed up by preparations for sending an expedition into Afghanistan to support the pretensions of Shah Shuja. On August 14 a long despatch was sent to the Court of Directors in which Lord Auckland justified the decision at which he had arrived in carrying out the policy they had indicated. He added, "I have felt, after the most anxious deliberation, that I could not otherwise rightly acquit myself of my trust; and a reference to the despatches of your Honourable Committee of June 25, 1836, and May 10, 1838, have led me to look with confidence for your general approbation and support to the plans on which, in the exercise of the discretion confided to me, I have resolved."

The celebrated Manifesto which contained the declaration of war against Dost Muhammad Khan was issued at Simla on October 1, 1838. This document was most keenly criticized directly it appeared. It is, however, only right

to say that it received the approval of the President of the Board of Control and of the Chairman of the Court of Directors, who were the persons responsible for the administration of Indian affairs in England. Sir John Kaye distinctly stated in his History, and Sir Auckland Colvin denies, that this Manifesto was so much disapproved by the Governor-General's Council at Calcutta, from whom he was of necessity separated, that the members of Council sent to England a respectful remonstrance. As this document is stated to have been issued "with the concurrence of the Supreme Council," this accusation directly attacked the honour of Lord Auckland, and therefore it merits consideration in any account of his life. Kaye does not quote his authority for his statement, and the remonstrance said to have been sent has never been produced or quoted. On the contrary, in a reply to the letter forwarding this Manifesto, it is clearly stated by the Court of Directors that "we are much pleased to find that the Governor-General and the Supreme Council cordially agree in all the measures in contemplation for the protection of the North-West frontier." Whatever may be the merits or demerits of this document, it is not proved that it was repudiated by the Supreme Council of India.

After the publication of this declaration the North-West frontier of India was alive with preparation. In the early days of November Lord Auckland and his party left Simla, and marched towards the Punjab. They left the Himalayas with regret. "We have had seven very quiet months," Miss Eden wrote rather sadly, "with good health and in a good climate, and in beautiful scenery. If I am to be in India, I would rather be at Simla than anywhere." At Ferozepore there was a grand ceremonial meeting between Lord Auckland and the aged Maharaja of the Punjab. Miss Eden's description of this interview is so graphic that we cannot help giving a portion of it here. "When Ranjít, Siug was at the end of the street," she wrote, "George and all the gentlemen went on their elephants to meet him. There were such a number of elephants that the clash at meeting was very great and very destructive to the how-

dahs and hangings. George handed the Maharaja into the first large tent, where we were all waiting; but the Sikhs were very unmanageable, and they rushed in on all sides, and the European officers were rather worse, so that the tent was full in a moment, and as the light only comes in from the bottom, the crowd made it perfectly dark, and the old man seemed confused. However, he sat down for a few minutes on the sofa between George and me, and recovered. He is exactly like an old mouse, with grey whiskers and one eye. Ranjít had no jewels on whatever, nothing but the commonest red silk dress." Miss Eden, who painted very well, had drawn a picture of Her Majesty the Queen, who had then been scarcely a year and a half on the throne, for presentation to the Maharaja. It was brought into the tent in state on a green and gold cushion. "All the English got up, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired. Ranjít took it up in his hands, and examined it for at least five minutes with his one eye. He said it was the most gratifying present he could have received, and that on his return to his camp, the picture would be hung in front of his tent, and a royal salute fired."

A few days afterwards, on December 3, there was a grand review of the English army, at which Ranjít Sing was present. Miss Eden was of opinion that he looked much more "personable on horseback than in durbar" She was particularly struck by the grandeur of the Sikh sirdars, dressed in yellow or red satin, with quantities of led horses sparkling in their gold and silver trappings. "The old man, himself" she wrote, "wears a sort of red stuff dress with a little edging of the commonest grey squirrel's fur, and a common red muslin turban." Her final opinion of him was:—"He is a very drunken old profligate, neither more nor less. Still he has made himself a great king; he has conquered a great many enemies; he is remarkably just in his government; he has disciplined a large army; he hardly ever takes away life, which is wonderful in a despot, and he is excessively beloved by his people." Subsequently the Governor-General and his party visited Amritsar and Lahore; and, after a surfeit of fêtes, returned to British

territory, and then retraced their steps to Simla, where they arrived about the middle of March, 1839. While there, they heard of the death of the great Maharaja, which took place on June 27.

Meanwhile, the contemplated invasion of Afghanistan had taken place. The main body of the English army, with Shah Shuja-ul-mulk, whom it was the object of the expedition to restore to his throne, reached Kandahar on April 25, 1839. Mr. Macnaghten, who had been appointed British Envoy, to his court, accompanied the force, and a grand entry was made into the city. The envoy was so fully persuaded that the Afghan people were generally favourable to their exiled king, that he sent the Governor-General a glowing account of the manner in which he was welcomed to Kandahar. The reflection of this appears in Miss Eden's journal. "George has received," she writes, "the official accounts of the taking of Kandahar, or rather how Kandahar took Shah Shuja, and *would have him for its king.*" Mr. Macnaghten himself wrote to her:—"Every great chief with his followers came out to meet the Shah, and greeted him on his arrival in his own country with every demonstration of joy; the poor crowded about him, making offerings of flowers, and they strewed the road he was to pass with roses." No wonder that the Governor-General and his sisters thought that nothing could be more satisfactory. But future events proved that all this was a mere delusion, and that Shah Shuja was not really welcomed back to his country with joy. Mr. Macnaghten's sanguine wishes misled him. On June 27, the day that Ranjit Sing was dying at Lahore, the greater part of Sir John Keane's force marched from Kandahar towards Kabul. On July 23, the strong fortress of Ghazni was taken by assault after one of the gates had been blown open by gun powder. On August 7, Shah Shuja was conducted in triumph through the streets of Kabul; but no joyous greeting hailed his return. His great rival, Dost Muhammad Khan, had fled across the mountain range that guarded Kabul to the west. These events are noticed from time to time in Miss Eden's journal. Amidst

little gossip regarding the doings at Simla passages such as these occur :—"George has had letters from the army. The Shah seems to be as quietly and comfortably settled as if he had never left his kingdom, and Sir John Keane writes most cheerfully about the army, makes very light of the loss of cattle, and says the soldiers were never so healthy."

The object of the campaign had now been attained. Shah Shuja had been restored to his native country and to his ancestral throne. If he had really been popular and if he had possessed the capacity to govern, the British forces ought, according to the proclamation of the previous October, to have been withdrawn; but he was neither popular nor capable. Lord Auckland, therefore, came to the decision that he must still be supported by British arms. In a minute dated August 20, 1839, he recorded this decision. He was quite sensible of the great advantage of withdrawing the army of the Indus to British territory; but "the political benefit would," he wrote, "be ill attained at the price of leaving unaccomplished the great purposes with which the expedition to Kabul was undertaken." Orders were consequently given that strong garrisons should be left at Kabul and Kandahar, at Ghazni and Jelalabad, while the main portions of the army should withdraw, one column under General Willshire through Scinde, and another under Sir John Keane through the Khyber Pass and the Punjab. The news of the success of the campaign was received in England with enthusiasm. The queen was pleased to create Lord Auckland an Earl, Sir John Keane a Baron, and Mr. Macnaghten a baronet, so that, in future, the two latter will be called Lord Keane and Sir William Macnaghten. The troops remaining in Afghanistan were, from time to time, engaged in various expeditions against refractory chiefs; but, on the whole, there was comparative tranquillity around Kabul for the next two years or more, and the British authorities, especially Sir William Macnaghten and Sir Alexander Burnes, were lulled into fatal security. There were signs, however, of a rising storm,

which might have been observed on the spot, if their eyes had not been blinded. The chief event during this period was the surrender of the Sirdar Dost Muhammad Khan. He had returned into Afghanistan from his place of refuge, and had placed himself at the head of his followers, against whom a force under General Sale had been sent. He was defeated on November 2, 1840, at a place called Parwandarra, where, however, two squadrons of the Bengal Cavalry had refused to charge against the foe. Two days afterwards, as Sir William Macnaghten was returning from his evening ride accompanied only by Lieutenant, afterwards Sir George, Lawrence, a horseman rode up to him and announced that the Amir was at hand. "What Amir?" exclaimed the Envoy. "Dost Muhammad Khan," was the reply; and, in a few minutes, the Amir himself drew near, dismounted from his horse, and presented his sword to Sir William Macnaghten. In a few days the Amir, who behaved in his voluntary captivity with charming courtesy and politeness, was taken under escort to Calcutta, where he had several interviews with the Governor-General. His first interview with him is thus described by Miss Eden:—"George did not like to receive him in durbar, as everything that is done will be exaggerated in Kabul. So it was settled he was to drive to Government House on his way to the house he is to live in, and to pay a common morning visit. So we arranged our morning drawing room in the native style—a sofa at one end and a long lane of chairs and sofas leading up to it, with two rows of servants with silver sticks behind the chairs. George sat on his sofa, with the Secretaries and Aides-de-camp on the rows of chairs." Dost Muhammad received every attention at the hands of the Governor-General, and he was gratified by being taken for drives in Lord Auckland's carriage, and by Miss Eden's playing with him at chess. Every consideration was shown to a fallen but noble foe.

By bringing the history of Afghan affairs down to the end of 1841, we have slightly anticipated the course of events. It was at one time intended that Lord Auckland should remain at Agra for some time, and continue in

charge of the Government of the North-West Provinces; but the occurrence of war with China, and the threatening aspect of affairs in Nepal led him to abandon this plan, and to return sooner than he intended to Calcutta. He left his sisters with their attendants at Kalpi, and journeyed to Calcutta by dawk as quickly as possible, leaving them to follow at a more leisurely pace. He reached the capital in the early days of February 1840. The Misses Eden rejoined him in the following month, and the usual round of business and pleasure, gaiety and work, incident to viceregal life, was resumed. Soon after their return to Calcutta, Lord Auckland received a pressing invitation from the Court of Directors to remain at his post another year, that is, to continue as Governor-General until March 1842, as he would have been five years in India in March 1841. This was a mark of the confidence and esteem in which he was held by those in authority in England. Miss Eden, who was longing to see again her relatives in her native land, writes about this change of plans in an amusing manner, but concludes with this sensible sentiment: "I suppose if it is really necessary that George should stay, it will be equally necessary to make the best of it." A year later, just before Lord Auckland and his sisters left India, Miss Frances Eden wrote: "We have stayed in this country a year longer than we meant—a year too long, in fact." This was true. If he had retired at the end of his natural term of office, and he had not been urged to remain, he would have left Afghanistan apparently in a state of profound tranquillity, and India quiet and happy. As it was, a dark impenetrable cloud hung over the land at the time of his departure, and he quitted in the midst of despondency and gloom.

Up to the middle of November, 1841, nothing but favourable reports reached Government House from Afghanistan. The very last letter from Sir William Macnaghten gave the most satisfactory account of affairs there. He stated how prosperous the country was becoming, and how the Afghans were beginning to appreciate our calm, equitable laws after their own harsh rule. Sir

Alexander Burnes held the same opinions, and sent a similar report. After the receipt of these roseate statements, the news of revolt, insurrection, disaster, and shame came to Lord Auckland with the swiftness and suddenness of an earthquake. Sir William Macnaghten had been appointed Governor of Bombay, and was about to start in a few days to take up his new appointment; and Sir Alexander Burnes was to take up his duties as Envoy. In the middle of October there had been a rising of the eastern Ghilzai tribes, but it was hoped that they would soon be subdued. Early in the morning of November 2, 1841, a tumult broke out in the city of Kabul. The houses of Sir Alexander Burnes and of Captain Johnson, the Shah's paymaster, were attacked. Burnes, his brother, and other officers were murdered in a sudden gust of popular fury. It was at first a sharp, but comparatively slight, tumult, which might have been put down at once, if it had been met by ordinary firmness and promptitude. Scarcely anything was done, however, and the insurrection speedily grew into a national uprising, which spread over the whole country. Shah Shuja-ul-mulk was with his troops and the English officers attending on him in the Bala Hissar, a fortified palace, near the town. The English Army consisting of some 4500 men, of whom about 700 were Europeans, were in cantonments two miles off. Nothing could have been worse from a strategical point of view than the situation. But what was worse, there were divided counsels, and not a single officer of rank who knew how to command. General Elphinstone, who commanded, was a brave and distinguished soldier; but enfeebled by disease and totally unfitted to lead in a time of emergency. The force was ere long besieged in its cantonments, and all supplies were kept from them. The Afghan insurgents were at first a mere rabble, but they were soon commanded by a competent leader in the person of Muhammad Akbar Khan, Dost Muhammad's favourite son. He entered into communication with Sir William Macnaghten, and the Envoy hoped, at one time, that by his being made Shah Shuja's minister, tranquillity might be restored. The astute Afghan was,

however, merely deluding him. He invited the Envoy to a conference, and, on December 23, this was held on a little mound only 300 yards from the camp. It is generally believed that Akbar Khan intended merely to capture Sir William and his attendant officers; but finding that he struggled to escape, slew him in a sudden burst of passion with a pistol which he had received as a present from the Envoy only a few hours previously. The Envoy's three attendant officers were disarmed, and each carried away on horseback, by an Afghan chief and saved from the fanatic rabble that swarmed around them. One, however, Captain Trevor, fell from his captor's horse, and was immediately slain.

Not a finger was raised to rescue them or to avenge the insult, though the tumult was actually seen from the walls of the cantonment. Major Eldred Pottinger was appointed to continue the negotiations carried on by the Envoy, and ere long arrangements were entered into with Muhammad Akbar Khan that the garrison, which was now reduced to extremities by starvation, should evacuate the cantonment, and that he should guarantee their safe conduct to Jelalabad, he engaging, on his part, to keep back the Ghilzai tribe from attacking them. Major Pottinger and others urged the bolder course of seizing the Bala Hissar citadel and gallantly holding it until assistance could be received from India. They were, however, overruled. The fatal retreat began on January 6, 1842, and the few fighting men that remained, discouraged and dispirited, and clogged by the numerous camp-followers, were unable to hold their own. They were attacked and shot down by the hardy mountaineers, and were massacred at every place where they attempted to make a stand. The climate likewise was against them. The frost and snow were terribly severe, and many perished by frost-bites. Only one man reached Jelalabad to tell the awful tale. Meanwhile, the ladies and children, with the married officers and certain hostages, including General Elphinstone and Colonel Shelton, the second in command, were taken charge of by Muhammad Akbar Khan, who, whatever may be thought of his former conduct, nobly ful-

filled his agreement in this respect. As might have been expected, they were rather roughly housed, and moved about from place to place; but their lives were preserved, and, in an Oriental fashion, they were treated well.

The whole story, however, was not one of humiliation and disgrace. General Sale's brigade, which was on its return to India, stood fast at Jelalabad, and kept the town against all odds. The garrison, thoroughly repaired the defences of the town, defeated the enemy in several sallies, repaired the walls which were nearly levelled to the ground in the terrible earthquake of February 19, and showed such a bold front as kept the enemy in awe, and clearly proved what British soldiers and sepoy could do when bravely and intelligently led.

We return to Government House, Calcutta, on which the shadow of this great disaster had darkly fallen. At first there were mere vague rumours, that some evil had come upon the force at Kabul. The passes between Afghanistan and India were closed, and but little certain information could be obtained. Then, bit by bit, the sad tidings came with mournful regularity. The first news came in a letter from Lady Sale in Kabul to her husband in Jelalabad. Miss Eden, though very apprehensive, could not look on matters despairingly. "You may imagine," she added, "the state George is in, and indeed there is a general gloom in Calcutta." The murder of Sir Alexander Burnes particularly affected him. The news from Jelalabad was assuring; but there was much cause for apprehension about Kabul. In the midst of it all, the Governor-General's family were preparing for their departure. "Our chief amusement has been packing." Then came intelligence that General Nott was preparing to march from Kandahar to Kabul, "and that has added to George's alarms." Then, two days afterwards a line was received from Captain Macgregor, the political officer at Jelalabad, "which even George owns to be the most cheering line he has had, and he looks better in consequence." In the midst of these alternations of hope and foreboding, a very interesting letter was received from brave Lady Sale on January 6, 1842, the day on which

the retreat was beginning at Kabul. "Nothing," says Miss Eden, "can seem more hopeless. Only three days' provisions left, and then she says very calmly, she believes they are to eat the few ponies and the camels left alive. The enemy had proposed a capitulation—the married men and the women to be left as hostages, the Shah to be given up, and the soldiers to give up their arms and to be escorted to the frontier, which is, in other words, to come out to be massacred." Writing a few days later, Miss Frances Eden says she cannot understand why, with 5000 troops, no effort had been made. All they could hear was that the camp was surrounded and provisions were failing fast. "As you may conceive, George is very much harassed by anxiety for the fate of all there. It is very hard for him," she writes with most natural sympathy, "that during the very last weeks of his stay here, when there is no time for him to get things straight again, this misfortune should have happened from the too great security of those on the spot. A fearful misfortune it is likely to prove. Knowing what a savage people the Afghans are, I never can get the horrors that may happen out of my head."

Then the sad details of the retreat came in by degrees. No wonder Miss Eden writes, "George is looking shockingly, but not ill. All this worry has, however, made a difference of ten years at least in his look." There was much vacillation in the plans to be adopted in this emergency. It was partly caused by the fact that his successor was now drawing very near the shores of India, and he might be inclined to adopt a different policy to his own. At first his desire was all for a forward movement, for the purpose of re-inforcing the hardly pressed force at Kabul; but, as the news from Afghanistan grew darker and darker, his judgment became adverse to an advance into that country for this purpose. One of his latest orders was, however, for the assembling of a strong force at Peshawar, to the command of which General George Pollock was appointed, and this policy was ably carried out by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces and by Mr. George Clerk, the British Agent in the Punjab. Both

at Kandahar and at Peshawar preparations were being quietly made for an early advance into the interior of Afghanistan; but the latter days of Lord Auckland's rule were past in sorrow and in gloom. The only bright spot was the heroic defence of Jellalabad, a brief account of which will come more appropriately in the sketch of his successor's life. That successor was Lord Ellenborough, who, rather to the surprise of the English public in India, had been appointed by the new ministry in England. He reached Calcutta on February 28, and was cordially welcomed by the outgoing Governor-General, who, with his sisters, remained his guest for twelve days. The two statesmen took to each other; or as Miss Eden wrote, they became exceedingly fond of each other. Lord Ellenborough, however, surprised his guests by his boasting and his grand ideas. "He startles people," Miss Eden said, "by the extraordinary activity of his English notions. The climate," she added sagaciously, "will settle a great many of them, and in the meantime he really is so good-natured and hospitable we are quite touched by it." She was still more touched by the public demonstrations of sorrow at her brother's departure and by the real affection shown at parting with them. The chief feeling in all hearts was compassion for him in the terrible trial that had clouded his last days in India. This dark cloud hung over all the proceedings connected with the farewell. This is plainly seen even at the close of Miss Eden's usually cheerful and lively letters, and almost the concluding words of her sister's last published letter were: "At this moment the whole court of Government House is filled with the carriages of people coming up with the address. It is a comfort to know that the ladies are well treated by the Afghans, and every thing is going on well in other parts of Afghanistan." We cannot refrain from giving the following extract from the address to which allusion was made above, and which was presented to Lord Auckland by the good and venerable Bishop Wilson: "You have shown to the people of this country," the words ran, "the example of a public man in the most exalted station devoting all his

time and all his energy to the duties of his office. You have diligently sought out merit amongst all classes, and have stimulated the honourable ambition of the native youth by encouragement and rewards, which are producing the happiest effects. If strict impartiality in a country where the differences of creed and race multiply the difficulty and the value of that rare virtue, if six years of incessant exertion for every object which you have conceived to be conducive to the happiness and the improvement of the people of British India, form a just title to their gratitude, that title is yours." Though these sentiments were expressed in a rather rhetorical fashion, we have every reason to believe that they were genuine, and that sincere regret was felt at Lord Auckland's departure.

At half-past six on the morning of March 12, 1842, a similar party issued from Government House to that which had accompanied Lord Auckland and his sisters on the memorable morning when they started on their journey up-country four years and a half before. The chief officers of state were with them, and for the last time Lord Auckland returned their salute as the double line of soldiery presented arms. A small steamer was to convey him to the ship *Lord Hungerford*, in which he was going to England; and, as he was being rowed to it, he could not restrain the tears that started to his eyes. "As the boat shoved off," a spectator wrote in one of the Calcutta papers, "the visible moisture in his eyes, and his turning away and applying the handkerchief to them, too clearly indicated the pain of parting to which his Lordship was alive. There was a great concourse on the Strand to witness this grand and affecting sight." We add the remarks of Sir Auckland Colvin regarding the departing Governor-General: "The patience and dignity with which he had borne his misfortunes, his gentle temper, his kindly nature, his large hospitality and unassuming carriage had won him the hearts of all who met him. If he had failed, he had greatly ventured; and to those who greatly venture in the cause of Great Britain, their countrymen in India forgive much." Sir Auckland's father, who, during the whole six trying years of his

administration, had acted as his Private Secretary, accompanied Lord Auckland to England; where they arrived in the month of August of the same year.

Lord Auckland spent the first three years after his return to his native land in comparative retirement. He lived partly at Eden Farm and partly in London. In 1846, however, when Lord John Russell came into power as Prime Minister at the head of a Whig Government, he joined the Cabinet as First Lord of the Admiralty, an appointment which he had held previous to his going to India. He applied himself to his duties as minister with diligence and assiduity, and he was rewarded by his contemporaries' approval and by a considerable amount of success, though he was not very long in office. Near the end of the year 1848 he paid a visit to one of his friends named Lord Ashburton, at the Grange, an estate belonging to the latter in the county of Hampshire. On the afternoon of December 30, as he was returning from a shooting party, about four miles from the house, he was seized with a paralytic stroke, from which he did not recover. He died on New Year's Day, 1849. He was buried in Beckenham Church, near his own place of residence. One of his sisters who was with him in India died only four months after him; but the elder sister, whose letters we have freely quoted, survived him for many years. The following is the epitaph placed on his tomb: "His manly character, his able and honest administration of affairs, his true uprightness, and his steady kindness won for him in an eminent degree the respect of all men, and the love of those who knew him best."

• But little more need be said regarding the character of Lord Auckland. What we have stated during the course of the foregoing narrative seems almost sufficient. It is very easy, according to a common English saying, to be wise after the event, and it is very difficult to place oneself completely in the position of those who were in authority at the time of certain events. Looking back, however, after the lapse of so many years, and therefore in the light of subsequent events, and writing while the second son of

the Amir of Afghanistan is in England, which fact is in itself a visible token that the alliance between the two countries is at the present time firmly cemented, we cannot help expressing keen regret at much of the past policy of the Government of India with reference to Afghanistan. We feel persuaded that the first Afghan War was unjust, and this is now, we believe, the general opinion of Indian writers and statesmen. It seems also very clear to us that the disapproval of God rested on the plans and on the conduct of the chief actors in the events we have been considering, showing plainly the truth of the scriptural assertion—"The Lord God of recompenses shall surely requite." Lord Auckland was not solely to blame. There can be little doubt on the reader's mind, when his despatches are studied, that he believed he was justified in declaring war for the purpose of securing the safety of India, and that he undertook it most reluctantly; but the full weight of responsibility rested entirely on the authorities in England. A crisis such as that which arose on the occasion of the Russian scare in England required a very strong ruler at the head of affairs in India, and Lord Auckland's was by no means a strong character. He was most admirable in the ordinary routine of business in times of quiet and of peace; but he was unsuited for the stress and strain of war, and formed a striking contrast to the firm but eccentric genius by whom he was succeeded. He was one of the most amiable of men, and inspired affection and esteem in all with whom he came closely into contact. India, however, requires more than this in times of emergency and danger.



THE EARL OF ELLENBOROUGH.

THE EARL OF ELLENBOROUGH.

FROM A. D. 1790 TO 1871.

“ Judge not! The workings of his brain,
And of his heart thou canst not see;
What looks to thy dim eyes a stain,
In Heaven’s pure light may only be
A scar, brought from some well-won field,
Where thou wouldst only faint and yield.”

A. A. Procter.

A few months ago we entered the pretty little church in the quiet village of North Cray in the county of Kent. As we stepped into the building, our eye was attracted by the name of the Earl of Ellenborough on a tablet in the right-hand corner near the entrance. On reading the inscription, our heart was touched by the simple words in which he had recorded the deep sorrow he felt on the occasion of the early death of his first wife, and this was increased when we recalled to memory the subsequent events of his life. The inscription was as follows:—“To the most dear memory of Octavia, Lady Ellenborough, . . . this monument is erected by her husband who, grateful to God for having given him so perfect a wife, and resigned to His awful will, which has so soon and so suddenly taken her away, earnestly and devoutly prays for grace to lead a good life that he may meet her again in Heaven.” •

The Honourable Edward Law was the eldest son of a celebrated English Judge, who, on his being appointed Lord Chief Justice of England, was created a peer with the title of Baron Ellenborough. He was born September 8, 1790. He was educated at Eton and at St. John’s College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of Master of Arts in 1809. One of his tutors at Cambridge was Mr. Sumner, who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury, the highest position, with the exception of that of the Sovereign, in the national Church of England. After leaving College

Mr. Law made a tour in the island of Sicily. His great desire was to join the army, and to make military science his profession; but this being contrary to his father's wishes, he became engaged in political life, though he always took a peculiar interest in military affairs. In the year 1813 he entered the House of Commons as Member of Parliament for the picturesque little town of St. Michael's, in the south of the county of Cornwall. He then applied himself diligently to the study of oratory, and he frequently spoke in the House of Commons, especially on Indian subjects. His speeches were eloquent, strong, and energetic; but his character was known to be so eccentric that they did not carry so much weight as they might have done either in the Lower House or afterwards in the House of Lords. His father died on December 13, 1818, when he succeeded to the title of Lord Ellenborough.

When the late Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister of England in 1828, Lord Ellenborough joined his Ministry as Lord Privy Seal, this being one of the high offices of the State. He was desirous of being the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which was a more important and responsible office; but he was disappointed in not obtaining this object of his ambition. On September 5, 1828, however, he became President of the Board of Control, a position which, during the course of his life, he held four times. He was thus brought into contact with the Court of Directors, and obtained an extensive knowledge of Indian affairs. During his first tenure of this office, the time for the renewal of the East India Company's Charter was drawing near, and he had a great deal to say regarding the changes made in 1833 in the authority and power of the Company. He was much opposed to the continuance of the Company's trade with China, the monopoly of which was withdrawn on the renewal of the Charter. At this time he was a strong advocate for opening the river Indus for trade, and it was mainly through his influence that Captain Burnes was sent on the commercial embassy to Kabul which we have already mentioned, so that, whatever may have been his subse-

quent views, he was one of the early instigators of events which led to the first Afghan War.

Lord Ellenborough resigned his office on the fall of the ministry in 1830; but again entered Sir Robert Peel's ministry as President of the Board of Control during that eminent statesman's brief administration from December 1834 to April 1835. He again relinquished office, when Sir Robert Peel went out of power; but returned to it for the third time in September 1841, when Sir Robert Peel was once more called upon to hold the position of Prime Minister. As Lord Auckland's time for the resignation of the Governor-Generalship of India was approaching, it was necessary that a successor should soon be nominated, and the appointment was offered to Lord Ellenborough.

In our Memoirs of each of the previous Governor-Generals we have been materially assisted in understanding the character of the man and his views as Governor-General either from his own diary and letters or from the journals and correspondence of those who were intimately connected with him. In this instance, however, we have the great advantage of the perusal of letters addressed by Lord Ellenborough to Her Majesty the Queen, whom he kept acquainted by each overland mail, which was then beginning to be sent regularly once a month, with every military and political event, and to whom he stated his views on every important subject. These letters must have been written with more than ordinary care, and we may assume that they give the writer's opinions with greater accuracy than those written to others, on account of the pains taken over them, as well as on account of the exalted position of her to whom they were addressed. Lord Ellenborough had been in the habit of writing to Her Majesty on Indian matters while he was President of the Board of Control, and he kept it up after his arrival in India, evidently by Her Majesty's command, for it is well known how intimately she is acquainted with all the affairs of state as well as with everything that concerns the welfare and the happiness of her subjects. We give for our reader's satisfaction the whole of the short letter in which he announced his

appointment to the Queen, as a specimen of the style adopted throughout this correspondence.

October 20, 1844.

“Lord Ellenborough, with his most humble duty to your Majesty, humbly acquaints your Majesty that the Court of Directors of the East India Company have, by a resolution passed this day, appointed him Governor-General of India. This appointment is invalid unless your Majesty should think fit to signify your Majesty’s approval of it. In this, as in all things, Lord Ellenborough submits himself to your Majesty’s gracious pleasure, prepared to serve your Majesty with devoted zeal wherever your Majesty may in your wisdom think his services can be most useful to your Majesty.” The next published letter is dated five months later, after Lord Ellenborough’s arrival at Calcutta. He also corresponded frequently with that great military authority, the Duke of Wellington, whose counsel he highly valued, and to whom he freely communicated all his plans and arrangements both military and political.

Lord Ellenborough’s appointment was generally hailed with satisfaction. His duties at the office of the Board of Control had given him an extensive knowledge of Indian affairs and much experience regarding them. He was looked upon as a man of considerable intelligence and power, and it was hoped that he would make an excellent ruler. The terrible events which saddened the close of his predecessor’s career had not yet occurred, and it was anticipated that the new Governor-General would have before him a period of quiet and of peace, during which much could be done for the good of the country and the benefit of the people. These visions filled the minds of all who on November 3, attended the banquet given to him on his departure, at which he expressed himself, as so many of his predecessors had done, in a strain of hopefulness. After referring to the war with China, which he hoped soon to bring to a successful close, he went on to say that he desired “to emulate the magnificent beneficence of the Muhammadan Emperors in their great works of public utility, to perfect and extend the

canals of irrigation; gradually to impart to the natives of India, whatever of useful knowledge we have ourselves inherited or acquired, and thus to elevate the character and extend the happiness of that great and faithful people. . . Henceforth my first duty is to the people of India."

The new Governor-General had a long voyage round the Cape of Good Hope in the frigate *Gambrian*, which anchored in the Madras Roads on February 21, 1842. As soon as she drew sufficiently near, he was startled by signals from the flag-staff in Fort St. George announcing to him the news of the disasters in Afghanistan, including the murder of the British Envoy. In his first letter to the Queen, informing her of his arrival at Calcutta on February 28, Lord Ellenborough sent her an interesting account of the exact position of affairs in India on his arrival. The most pressing and the most perilous part of the position to which he drew Her Majesty's attention was connected with Afghanistan. He stated that the garrisons of Jellalabad, Ghazni, and Kelat-i-Ghilzi were surrounded, and that the division of her army at Kandahar was unable to move owing to want of transport animals. He informed her that a force had been assembled at Peshawar intended to advance to the relief of Jellalabad, but that General Pollock, who commanded it, did not consider it was yet ready to push forward. "He seems to be a prudent officer," he wrote; "but it is impossible not to regard the position of his brigades, and still more that of Sir Robert Sale at Jellalabad, with much anxiety." Besides the effort the Governor-General was making for the efficiency of the two forces at Kandahar and Peshawar, he stated that he proposed to keep together a force near the Sutlej under the command of the Commander-in-Chief, well composed, well equipped, and of sufficient strength to overwhelm any enemy. He next informed Her Majesty of a mutinous disposition which had been shown in some regiments of the Madras army at Hyderabad. Two regiments were about to embark for service in China, when his ship was touching at Madras, and he had gone on board the transports to show that care was being taken to ensure the comfort of the

sepoys. A little show of firmness soon dispersed this slight cloud of military discontent. Lord Ellenborough gave the Queen certain details of the measures he had taken to increase the force sent to China, and to ensure success, while at the same time he urged on the General commanding there the necessity for bringing the war to a close. We may here state that these measures were successful, and that the war in China was prosecuted just as if no perils threatened India. Lord Ellenborough ended his Memorandum for the Queen with these words which, as she was then only three-and-twenty years of age, and sincerely anxious, as she has been ever since, for the highest welfare of her subjects, must have gone home to her heart : " Within the limits of the British dominions everything is at present tranquil. The last harvest was everywhere good, the prospect of the next harvest is good ; all the sources of revenue are in a state of prosperity. Once relieved from the pressure of foreign war, the finances would soon assume a new and healthy character, and the Government would have at its disposal the means of bestowing the most extensive benefit upon the people."

It will thus be seen that the very first duty which lay before the Governor-General was the restoration of the fame of the British arms, and that he fully recognized this duty. Certain English garrisons were in peril, English prisoners, some of whom were ladies and children, were in captivity, and two English forces, at Peshawar and Kandahar, were unable to advance owing to insufficient supplies. On March 15, 1842, three days before the date of his Memorandum for the Queen, the Governor-General in Council issued a public Notification, in which these sentences occur : " The British Government is no longer compelled to peril its armies, and with its armies, the Indian Empire, in support of the Tripartite Treaty," which it will be remembered was entered into with Shah Shuja and Runjît Sing at the beginning of the war. " Whatever course we may hereafter take must rest solely on military considerations. . . , and to the establishment of our military reputation by the infliction of some signal and decisive blow

upon the Afghans, which may make it appear to them, and to our own subjects, and to our allies, that we have the power of inflicting punishment upon those who commit atrocities, and violate their faith; and that we withdraw ultimately from Afghanistan, not from any deficiency of means to maintain our position, but because we are satisfied that the king we have set up has not, as we were erroneously led to imagine, the support of the nation over which he has been placed." The policy thus stated received the cordial approval of all the English residents in India. It was considered right that the reverses sustained by the army should be retrieved, and that then Afghanistan should be quitted, and the Afghans left to select their own Amir.

Soon after the publication of this Notification, Lord Ellenborough left Calcutta by dāk for the North-West Provinces. As he informed the Duke of Wellington, he wished to be nearer the scene of action, to be close to the army and in the middle of the Native states, and to be within reach of the Commander-in-Chief. Amidst the dreary scenes of disaster in Afghanistan there was one bright spot on which his eye and the gaze of all India could rest with satisfaction. This was the defence of Jellalabad. Sir Robert Sale's brigade had entered that town on the 13th of the previous November. A determined attack had been made on them on the following day by the armed population; but the enemy was scattered by a brilliant sortie, and in a few days the fortifications were put into good order, and the neighbouring mosques and forts and gardens were cleared.

The garrison received orders from Kabul to quit the place; but, with the courage which others had failed to show, they declined to obey such a cowardly command. The walls were in good order owing to the energetic labour of the whole garrison, and another successful sortie had procured sufficient food. On February 19 a sharp earthquake destroyed the labour of weeks; but, setting to work again with right good will, the fortifications were repaired so speedily that the Afghans declared that Jellalabad was the only place which the earthquake must have spared. Soon after, Akbar Khan came to take command

of the enemy's forces. He found, however, that he had different men to deal with than the disheartened defenders of the cantonments at Kabul. In March he made a vigorous attack on the town, but he was defeated in a still more vigorous sortie. Then, baffled in his direct attacks, he changed his plans, turned the siege into a blockade, and tried to compel the garrison to surrender by hunger. Another well-planned sortie was made on April 1, and five hundred sheep were captured. The garrison was composed of Her Majesty's 13th Regiment and the 35th Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry, and an instance here occurred of noble conduct which has, from time to time, occurred in Indian warfare, showing the brotherhood between European soldiers and their sepoy comrades. The sepoys gave up the sheep allotted to them to the Europeans, saying that they needed the food more than themselves. The garrison were aware that an attempt was being made to relieve them from Peshawar; but rumours reached them of failure, and Akbar Khan fired a salute, in their hearing, in honour of an Afghan victory. This was too much for these courageous men. A final desperate sortie was made, and on April 7, the enemy was thoroughly beaten, and fled from the neighbourhood. The garrison had thus relieved themselves. Lord Ellenborough, on hearing of this victory, issued an order congratulating them, and giving them the well-earned title of "the Illustrious Garrison." They had sustained the highest and best traditions of the Indian army.

Meanwhile, an advance was being made from Peshawar. Fear of the climate and dread of the enemy had so upset the sepoys under General Pollock that they were on the verge of mutiny, and he felt that they could not be trusted. So he patiently waited. By judicious reasoning he soothed the apprehensions of the sepoys; his force was strengthened by more European troops; and the most careful arrangements were made for an advance. At length, early in the morning of April 5, without beat of drum, a silent start was made for the entrance of the dreaded Khyber Pass. Every man knew what he had to do. A formidable barrier

had been erected by the enemy in the centre of the Pass, so the General sent a wing of the army to scale the mountains on the right hand and on the left; and, when the heights on either side had been successfully crowned, the enemy, finding himself attacked both in front and in rear, fled, and the dark Khyber Pass was cleared. General Pollock's force reached Jellalabad on April 16, and was gratified to find that its illustrious garrison had freed themselves by their own valour.

We must now turn to the other quarter whence an advance into Afghanistan was intended to be made. Kandahar had been gallantly defended by the troops under General Nott. They had held their own bravely all through that sad cold season. The garrison had issued out, from time to time, to attack and beat the enemy, who hovered in great numbers around the city. On one occasion, March 7, the Afghans pretended to flee, but returned by a circuitous way and attempted to take the citadel by assault. They were, however, foiled by the determined courage of the handful of men left for its defence. The fort of Ghazni was shamefully surrendered by the officer in command; but Khelat-i-Gilzai was splendidly defended by a small but noble garrison. A slight defeat was experienced in an effort to reinforce the troops at Kandahar; but it was speedily retrieved, and everything was ready for a forward movement from Kandahar as well as from Peshawar.

The Governor-General, who had at first seemed to be all in favour of an immediate advance, had now come to the conclusion that both armies should withdraw within the British frontier. He carefully explained the views which he at that time held upon this subject, in his letter to the Queen dated April 21, 1842. "Lord Ellenborough," he wrote, "has, under all circumstances, deemed it expedient to direct the retirement of General Nott, first on Quetta and ultimately on Sukkur on the Indus. Your Majesty's troops being redeemed from the state of peril in which they have so long been placed by their scattered positions, their imperfect equipment, and their distance from their communications with India, it will become a subject of

serious consideration whether they shall again advance upon Afghanistan by a new and central line of operation ; or whether it will not be more advisable, our military reputation being re-established, to terminate, in conjunction with the Sikh Government, those operations in pursuance of the Tripartite Treaty to which that Government was a party." The Governor-General was, from the very first moment of his landing in India, of opinion that recent events had quite brought that treaty to an end. Public feeling in India was most unfavourable to the idea of the English armies retiring without having struck even one blow for the recovery of the prisoners and the retrieval of the national honour. It must be remembered, however, that Lord Ellenborough was in constant communication with the Duke of Wellington, to whom he wrote most fully and consulted very confidentially, and that he entirely approved of this measure. It must also be recollected that Lord Ellenborough had at first very little confidence in the ability or the discretion either of General Nott or of General Pollock, though he afterwards completely altered his opinion with regard to them both. He considered that the general opinion among the English in India as to the events in Afghanistan was ill-advised and erroneous. "There is," he wrote to the Duke of Wellington, "such a real madness in some military men, and in all political men, with respect to Afghanistan, that I am convinced every pretext will be sought to remain there, without an attainable object as regards the army at Kandahar, without adequate means of movement, and without communication."

There were two subjects especially which caused a broad division between himself and the English public in India. One was the absolute fashion in which he took into his own hands the management of everything connected with the war, and the other was the way in which he set his face against the employment of political officers, as they were called, with the army. With regard to the first, he felt and he wrote very strongly against the manner in which all orders and all military movements were made prematurely public, and discussed in the newspapers. "I

should tell you," he confides to the Duke under date May 17, 1842, "that, in order to preserve secrecy, I have been obliged to have every order to the Generals, and every important instruction to the political agents, copied only by my private secretary and aide-de-camp; and even the Council in Calcutta does not yet know the orders given. Nothing is secret in that place. Everything is divulged by folly or sold by treachery." We can scarcely believe this to be true of high-minded English gentlemen; but we give the words as showing the feeling of Lord Ellenborough, and giving the reasons for his action. This policy caused great offence to the members of Council, and was the beginning of the irritation felt against him by the Court of Directors. It was manifestly right for the Governor-General to do his utmost to prevent important orders being made public before the proper time; but even his friends, the Duke of Wellington, could not help remonstrating with him for not communicating with his lawful advisers.

With regard, however, to the influence of political officers, Lord Ellenborough was fully supported by the Duke, who, in fact, seems to have himself suggested the unwisdom of employing them. In a long letter in which he reviewed the situation in India on the Governor-General's arrival, the Duke wrote very strongly about this subject. "The reason," he added, "for which I have drawn your attention so particularly to the existing system is, that it is a novelty and an abuse of modern times arising out of jealousy of the power of military officers. But the consequence of its existence is, that the General officers, who, after all, must command the operations of the troops in action, will undertake nothing, except to obey the orders which the political agent or his deputies think proper to give them. A consideration of this state of things will show clearly the cause of the losses in Afghanistan and particularly of the want of energy and enterprise in Kabul."

We now return to the operations of the armies in the field. Neither General Pollock nor General Nott liked the idea of retiring within the frontier of India while so many

captives remained in Afghan hands, and former reverses were still unretrieved. Lord Ellenborough adhered to his plan that they should return to India, and yet he was evidently feeling the effect of public opinion, so he ingeniously gave General Nott the option, to use his own phrase, of retiring to India by way of Ghazni and Kabul instead of by the more direct route, and General Pollock of assisting him in this measure. He announces this decision to Her Majesty in these words: "Everywhere in the neighbourhood of Kandahar the enemy is dispirited, while the army of General Nott is in very fine order, in high spirits, and not ill-equipped. Under all these new and improved circumstances, Lord Ellenborough has thought that he might venture to place in the hands of General Nott the option of retiring by the route of Ghazni and Kabul, instead of that of Quetta and Sukkur, to the Indus. Care has been taken to place before the General all the risks and dangers, as well as all the advantages, of this operation. It must rest with him to decide." By the next mail he again wrote to her: "General Nott, after full consideration, has resolved on availing himself of the option given to him as to his line of retreat, and will march on Ghazni and Kabul. Your Majesty will perceive the noble spirit of an old soldier, aware of all the difficulties he is about to encounter, but calculating upon surmounting them all by prudent daring, and resolved to maintain the honour of the British arms." General Pollock was the first at Kabul, whither he marched in conjunction with Sir Robert Sale's brigade; and they had the pleasure of welcoming into their camp Lady Sale and all the other European prisoners. A scene of joy ensued which, in a certain measure, made up for the sad disasters which, less than a year before, had befallen them. The force reached Kabul on September 15, and encamped on the old cantonment ground after having, on their way, had several successful encounters with the enemy.

General Nott advanced toward Kabul from the opposite quarter. On September 5, he appeared before the stronghold of Ghazni, which was abandoned on his approach.

After one more victorious encounter with the enemy, his army encamped at Kabul on September 17. The great bazaar in that town, where Sir William Macnaghten's body had been exposed in derision, was destroyed, and on October 12, the combined force, now under the command of General Pollock, left for Peshawar, and was encamped there by November 7.

Directly the news of the successes at Kabul had been received, Lord Ellenborough issued a proclamation, dated October 1, 1842, announcing them in rather grandiloquent language. We quote the following well-known passage: "Disasters unparalleled in their extent, except by the errors in which they originated, have in one short campaign been avenged on every scene of past misfortune. The enormous expenditure required for the support of a large force in a false position will no longer arrest every measure for the improvement and comfort of the people. The combined army of England and India, superior in equipment, in discipline, in valour, and in the officers by whom it is commanded to any force that can be opposed to it in Asia, will stand in unassailable strength upon its own soil, and, for ever, under the blessing of Providence, preserve the glorious Empire it has won in security and honour." This proclamation in accordance with the character of him who composed it, was written in too boastful a style, and it did not sufficiently harmonise with the feelings of the greater number of those who were full of gratitude for the deliverance of the captives and for the restoration of the honour of England. Although no letter from Her Majesty to Lord Ellenborough has been published, it is evident from his replies that some were written, and that she was very anxious about the release of the prisoners. In one of his letters he assures her that the General had been reminded that the Government had an equal regard for all Her Majesty's subjects, and that "the same care must be taken for effecting the release of the lowest sepoy as for effecting that of the first European." In reporting to the Queen the return of the army, he informs her that, although the retirement was not free from attack and loss, yet "the

number of native and European prisoners recovered by the armies much exceeds the total amount of loss sustained from the first advance upon Ghazni and Kabul to the day on which Afghanistan was finally evacuated."

Five days later another proclamation was issued by the Governor-General, composed in a still more extraordinary style. This was the celebrated proclamation regarding the gates of the temple of Somnath, which was intended to gratify the Hindu princes and people of India. These gates were said to have been carried away by the conqueror Mahmud of Ghazni, and placed in that fortress, and Lord Ellenborough directed General Nott to bring them with him as trophies of war on his return march. He intended that they should then be taken in triumph to Somnath and replaced at the entrance to the temple. "The insult of eight hundred years," he declared, "is at last avenged. The gates of the temple of Somnath, so long the memorial of your humiliation, are become the proudest record of your national glory." This ridiculous proclamation was received by the Hindus with indifference and by the English with derision. There seems strong evidence that these gates were not genuine; there was no temple to receive them; and they were finally put in a lumber-room in the fort at Agra. It appears, however, from his letters both to the Queen and to the Duke of Wellington, that Lord Ellenborough really believed that he was doing something which would endear him to the people of India, and the whole affair is an instance of how curiously people can deceive themselves. "The progress of the gates from Ferozepore to Somnath," he wrote to Her Majesty, "will be one great national triumph, and their restoration to India will endear the Government to the whole people."

Lord Ellenborough had thought it advisable to collect, soon after he proceeded upcountry, a large army of reserve on the frontier of the Panjab. The condition of India was troubled, and success in Afghanistan had not yet been assured, so this imposing force was assembled, ready to move in any direction. Now that the victorious armies were returning to India, the Governor-General determined

to receive them at Ferozepore with a grand military pageant. This took place towards the close of the eventful year 1842. The defenders of Jellalabad were welcomed with peculiar honour; the sepoys were feasted by the Governor-General's command; and a grand review of all the troops, including the returned forces and the army of reserve, was held. The concluding scene of the Afghan war was the release of Dost Muhammad Khan and his family, who been in honorable captivity in India since the beginning of the previous year. In announcing to Her Majesty his intention of effecting this release, Lord Ellenborough made the following remarks: "Lord Ellenborough trusts that your Majesty will approve of this act, at once of policy and of clemency. It will produce upon the minds of all the chiefs and people of India an effect most favourable to the character of the British Government; and your Majesty may be assured that the British power in this country, properly directed, is such as to render our interests unassailable, and even to place them beyond the reach of fear." On Dost Muhammad Khan's taking leave of the Governor-General at a private interview, the latter asked him what opinion he had formed of the English whom he had seen in India. "I have been struck," was his pithy reply, "with the magnitude of your power and your resources, with your ships, your arsenals, and your armies; but I cannot understand why the rulers of so great an Empire should have gone across the Indus to deprive me of my poor and barren country."

On the camp at Ferozepore being broken up, the Governor-General returned to Agra, where he proposed to remain for some time, it being more central than Calcutta. On his way he held a grand durbar at Delhi, at which he received several Rajput and other princes and chiefs. We think it will be interesting to quote a passage from his letter to Her Majesty, informing her of this intended durbar, which gives his opinion regarding a measure that has since become an accomplished fact, namely, her assuming the title of Empress of India. "Lord Ellenborough," he wrote, "cannot but feel that the anomalous and unintelligible

position of the local Government of India excites great practical difficulties in our relations with native chiefs, who, in an Empire like ours, have no natural place, and must be continually in apprehension of some design to invade their rights and to appropriate their territories. All these difficulties would be removed were your Majesty to become the nominal head of the Empire. The princes and chiefs of India would be proud of their position as the feudatories of an Empress; and some judicious measures calculated to gratify the feelings of a sensitive race, as well as to inspire just confidence in the intention of their sovereign, would make the hereditary rulers of this great people cordially co-operate with the British Government in measures for the improvement of their subjects and of their dominions. Lord Ellenborough can see no limit to the future prosperity of India, if it be governed with due respect for the feelings, and even the prejudices, and with a careful regard for the interests of the people, with the resolution to make *their* well-being the chief object of the Government." These latter sentiments ought in fairness to be taken as the sincere expression of the Governor-General's heart, and the former as being the first suggestion to our youthful sovereign's mind of her present position as Empress.

Notwithstanding these gracious words regarding the people of India, and the earnest desires felt both in India and in England for peace, the war in Afghanistan was almost immediately followed by war in Scinde. In fact, it arose out of it, communication with Kabul having been kept up through the line of the Indus, and supplies having been obtained through the help of the Amirs or Chieftains of the country through which that river flows. We do not intend to give all the details of this sad strife, and certainly not to enter into the controversy arising out of it; but we propose to consider it, as we have tried to do with regard to other public events connected with the subjects of the memoirs in this series, from the point of view of the Governor-General himself. This purpose will be best served by reference to Lord Ellenborough's letters to the Queen and the Duke of Wellington rather than by extracts from

official despatches. We are better able to gather from them the true feeling of his mind and the exact impression of his thoughts. We will here only remark that we firmly believe that, if the negotiations with the unfortunate Amirs had been entrusted to Major Outram, whom they knew and trusted, instead of to Sir Charles Napier, the end desired by the Governor-General would have been peacefully obtained.

Treaties had been entered into with the Amirs of Scinde by Lord Auckland in 1839 regarding the navigation of the Indus, tribute for their territories, and the passage of troops through them to Afghanistan. The country was then divided into Upper and Lower Scinde and the territory of Meerpore. The chief Amir of Upper Scinde was Mir Rustum, an aged chieftain of eighty-five, whose brother Ali Morad was very anxious to obtain the succession to the *Rais* or headship. Lower Scinde was under the Amirs of Hyderabad, and Meerpore was ruled by an able chief, named Shero Muhammad. These were independent of each other, and yet in subsequent negotiations they were treated as jointly responsible for the acts of each. So early as May, 1842, Lord Ellenborough was under the impression that the Amirs entertained no friendly feelings towards the British Government, and he informed the Duke of Wellington that this was one of the signs he had observed of a change of feeling towards the English since the disasters had occurred in Afghanistan. General Sir Charles Napier arrived in Scinde on September 9 to take command of the troops there, and it was considered advisable that full authority, both political and military, should be placed in his hands. When informing Her Majesty of this fact, the Governor-General wrote: "It is expected that the Amirs, seeing the advance of forces from different points, will desist from the hostile intentions they have been said to entertain. Their conduct will be maturely considered, and if it should appear that designs have been entertained inconsistent with friendship towards the British Government, the punishment inflicted will be such as to deter all Indian Chiefs from similar treachery; but nothing will be done against any one of them without the clearest evidence of guilt." Several

passages in his letters occur indicating a very sensitive state of mind as to the feelings of the Amirs towards the British Government. The charges against them were referred to Sir Charles Napier, who dismissed all except three. These were, whether two treasonous letters were genuine and whether the minister of Mir Rustum had connived at the escape of a certain malcontent. These charges were considered as proved, and Sir Charles Napier was authorized to insist on the Amirs signing fresh treaties, agreeing to surrender certain territory to the Nawab of Bahawalpore and to the British Government, the latter being in lieu of payment of annual tribute, and to resign the right of coining money, which was a very tender point with the Amirs.

Lord Ellenborough seems to have put the most implicit faith in Sir Charles Napier. He wrote to the Duke of Wellington that he was charmed with him. Sir Charles appears, however, to have been very much under the influence of Ali Morad, whose sole object was to obtain not only the succession to, but the immediate possession of, his aged brother's territories. In fact, this was eventually the issue of his intrigues. Both Mir Rustum and the Amirs of Upper Scinde were dispossessed, and the other Amirs were summoned to Hyderabad to conclude the treaties which had been prepared for their signatures. The negotiations were carried on through Major Outram, the Resident, and, while they were proceeding the Amirs warned him that their Beluchi followers were gathering together in Hyderabad and its neighbourhood, and that they were quite unable to restrain the violence of the mob. The Residency was attacked on February, soon after the Amirs had affixed their seals and signatures to the treaties; but Major Outram and his escort, after a gallant defence of the house, escaped to a steamer in the river. This attack on the Residency could not be passed over. Sir Charles Napier with an army of 2700 men quickly advanced on Hyderabad, and on February 17, 1843, he encountered the Beluchi army nearly ten times their strength. They were posted at Meancee, near the river Fulailee, and the contest was very severe; but

the skilful generalship and strategy of Sir Charles Napier prevailed. Hyderabad surrendered to the conquerors. Another equally severe battle was fought on the 24th of the following month. The annexation of Scinde followed, and Sir Charles Napier was appointed Governor of the newly conquered Province. In a rough and ready fashion he administered the civil government for a year or two, and it was then made a Chief-Commissionership under the Government of Bombay.

The Governor-General was very severely criticized for his policy as to the negotiations with the Amirs and the annexation of Scinde. His policy certainly did not meet with the approval of the Court of Directors. He was himself fully persuaded that he had acted wisely and justly in this matter. In a letter to the Queen dated June 27, 1843, in which he makes a brief defence of his proceedings to her, he wrote: "Inasmuch as Lord Ellenborough is convinced that the policy he has adopted in Scinde is at once just and expedient, it is impossible for him to carry out measures which shall have any other object than that of permanently maintaining the position in which, he trusts, victory has now placed us on the Indus. Whatever may have been the decision taken with respect to his measures in Scinde, he feels assured that your Majesty's generosity will have induced your Majesty to place the most favourable interpretation upon the conduct of a Governor-General compelled, by the necessities of his position, to adopt at once a decisive line of policy, and to consider, not what might be said of his measures in England, but the effect which they would have upon the security and prosperity of the great Empire of which your Majesty's most gracious confidence permitted him to undertake the government." To the Duke of Wellington he wrote in greater detail about the course of his action and negotiations with the Amirs. He tells the Duke how he had all along doubted their friendliness and sincerity; and in the letter of March 22, he said: "subsequent events and discoveries, and the treachery of the Amirs, seemed to have proved that I was right in believing them to be at once hostile and

not to be depended upon. I do not see what course can now be pursued but that of taking the country we have conquered." The Duke of Wellington, knowing the anxiety of the cabinet and of the English people regarding the affairs of Scinde, wrote him a letter containing some very candid and friendly advice on the subject. The following sentences from it are worth quoting as showing the anxiety of the Duke himself and his confidence in his friend, Lord Ellenborough, who had evidently not sent to England regular despatches. "Several transactions," he wrote, "required explanation, not only of the course pursued, but even of the result. We have been at times a month waiting to be certain whether a battle fought was successful or otherwise; and it is even at this moment doubtful whether there will or will not be another great battle for the possession of Scinde. But whatever may have been the cause of the state of men's opinions and feelings, there can be no doubt of their existence—of the extreme embarrassment of the Government, and of danger to its existence and to the public interest, resulting from this Scinde affair." After a good deal more in the same strain, the Duke adds these warning words: "It is a great advantage for any individual to serve so great a nation as this; but that advantage is attended by its drawbacks, its difficulties, and various disagreeable circumstances. These are all in operation at this moment on this question. But a man such as you, endowed with your talents, who has performed such services as you have, and who has it in his power to serve his country as you have, should scorn these difficulties, and persevere to do all the good that he is permitted to do, be what they may the obstacles in his way. I earnestly recommend you then to persevere."

During the year 1843 Lord Ellenborough's attention was constantly directed to the extreme danger which threatened the North-West frontier of India from two practically irresponsible armies, which held almost paramount power, one in the Panjab and the other in Gwalior. There had been no cause for anxiety in the latter state since the last Mahratta war in 1817. The Maharaja Scindia died on

February 7, 1843, and much difficulty and perplexity ensued. He died without children; and his widow, adopted a young relation of the deceased with the full consent of the Governor-General. It then became necessary to appoint a Regent, for which position there were two candidates—Mama Sahib, uncle of the late Maharaja, and Dada Khasji Walla, one of the principal officers of State. The Governor-General preferred the former, and he was installed as Regent on February 23; but this was most distasteful to the young Maharani, who did her utmost to thwart the new Regent in the exercise of his power. He was ultimately dismissed by her, and his rival appointed in his place. On this the Resident, on the Governor-General's direction, withdrew from the capital. The town of Gwalior thereupon became the scene of contention between two rival factions. The army at Gwalior was, however, the real master of the state. The Governor-General insisted, at first in vain, for the surrender of Dada Khasji Walla, the Regent appointed by the Maharani. An English army was assembled on the frontier, and Lord Ellenborough, who, in accordance with the urgent advice of the Duke of Wellington, and the known wishes of the Court of Directors, had resided for some months at Calcutta, thought it right now to proceed to Agra so as to be near the scene of action. He arrived there on December 11. He was most anxious, if we may judge by his own words, that every thing should be settled peaceably, and, even as he was with the army on its advance towards Gwalior, he told the Queen that his policy towards that state had been adopted with extreme reluctance, and only from a conviction of its necessity; but he rightly considered that an exhibition of strength was necessary in order to overawe the excited and lawless armies both in the Panjab and in Gwalior. He was decidedly of opinion, and in this also he appears to have judged correctly, that the position which the English Government occupied made it supreme in India, and that it could not safely suffer lawlessness and anarchy in states so closely adjoining British territories, especially in the case of Gwalior, which was only six marches

from Agra, then the capital of the North-West Provinces. These sentiments were expressed in the following words in a letter to Her Majesty: "Your Majesty will not have failed to observe how very different a position the British Government stands in Europe from that in which it is placed in India. In Europe peace is maintained by the balance of power among the several states. In India all balance has been overthrown by our preponderance, and to exist we must continue to be supreme. The necessity of our position may often render necessary measures wholly unsuited to the state of things which prevail in Europe. It will ever be Lord Ellenborough's desire, should he be compelled to adopt such measures, to make them as far as possible conformable to European views and principles, but he feels that his first duty is to preserve this Empire to your Majesty's Crown, and he will never hesitate to adopt the measures that may appear necessary to secure that object." These principles were embodied in a carefully written and temperate Minute, dated November 1, 1843.

Before the Governor-General's arrival at Agra, a distinct demand had been made for the surrender of Dada Khasji Walla; who had been the Maharani's favourite and adviser throughout, and who had kept back from her an important letter from the Governor-General. Every pretext had been used to evade this demand. Orders were given for the advance of the British army; but, as it drew near the frontier, the obnoxious Regent was surrendered. It was, however, too late. Two British armies were converging on Gwalior from opposite quarters; and their progress could not be arrested unless assurance could be given that a strong Government in Gwalior should be formed, and the Mahratta army considerably reduced. The provisions insisted on by the Governor-General were taken from the treaty of Burhanpore in 1804, which was concluded by Colonel Malcolm under the Duke of Wellington, whose example and advice he desired almost implicitly to follow.

The Mahratta Army now took the matter into their own hands. They would not permit the Maharani even to enter into negotiations with the Governor-General; and marched

out of Gwalior with the avowed purpose of opposing the advance of the English troops. The two forces met, on December 29, at the village of Maharajpore. Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-chief, who was in command of the army that was approaching from Agra, was taken by surprise in coming on the Mahratta army strongly entrenched near the village. The battle was very severe, being stubbornly contested on both sides; but victory remained with the English force, though their losses were very great. The Governor-General himself was present at the action, and it is said showed great courage, going about in the most dangerous parts of the field, and giving money and oranges to the wounded. On the same day another victory was gained at Panniar by the division under General Grey, which was advancing on Gwalior from the south. Two days afterwards both Maharani and the young Maharaja came into the Governor-General's camp, and had an interview with him. A fresh treaty was entered into, and a scheme for the better government of the state of Gwalior was prepared. A council of six Sirdars was created, who were to act implicitly in accordance with the advice of the Resident; the Maharaja's army was considerably reduced; and a contingent force under English officers was raised, the Fort of Gwalior being placed in its possession. Lord Ellenborough rightly considered that he had acted in this matter with the greatest justice and moderation. In reporting to Her Majesty the double victory, he used the following language: "Lord Ellenborough has carefully made known to all the native powers the grounds of British intervention in the affairs of Gwalior, and the views of justice and moderation by which the Government has been guided in the moment of victory." "I have maintained the reputation of our Government," he wrote to the Duke of Wellington, "which seemed to me involved, in our treating the House of Scindia in the person of a minor with protecting kindness and consideration."

Soon after the execution of this treaty and the settlement of Gwalior, the Governor-General returned to Calcutta, where he arrived in the first week of March, 1844. He

considered this step advisable as he thought that his return from the Upper Provinces would do more than anything else towards creating in the minds of men generally throughout India some degree of confidence in the continuance of peace. On June 15th all India was startled on hearing that he had been recalled by the Court of Directors. This event had for some time been expected both by the Cabinet in England and by Lord Ellenborough himself; but it came as a surprise to the Indian public. The Court of Directors had not only disapproved of his policy, but had felt much displeasure at the manner in which he had kept them in ignorance of his measures and his proposed methods of carrying them into effect. He had, in fact, ignored their authority and despised their influence, forgetting that he was no longer President of the Board of Control, where he exercised power superior to theirs, but that he was, as Governor-General, under their control. He had, for the greater part of his time of service, separated from his Council at Calcutta, and virtually acted, single-handed, as an autocratic despot. He was in the habit of corresponding directly with the various officers in matters of importance without consulting the heads of departments, as, for instance, in the case of Scinde, the Governor of Bombay was not consulted. The Court of Directors disapproved of the Governor-General's policy regarding the conquest and annexation of Scinde; and as the Gwalior war so quickly succeeded that against the Amirs, it convinced them that he was more inclined to a warlike policy than to measures of peaceful progress and improvement. The Duke of Wellington had kindly given him a friendly warning as to the way in which matters were tending so early as November, 1842. "In the existing state of the public mind," he wrote, "there could be nothing more injurious to you than that it should be supposed that you had not fully communicated to the President in Council (in Calcutta) all that you were required to communicate, or that any report had been made to the Secret Committee (of the Court of Directors in England) till the time will come at which an opportunity will be afforded of justifying all the orders you

have given, and of showing how appropriate each of them was to the circumstances within your knowledge at the moment at which each was given." Again, writing in February, 1843, the Duke earnestly enjoins caution on him in these words: "I advise you to be very cautious, not only in respect of your acts, which I do not doubt that you will be, but respecting the modes of execution which you may adopt, especially to your agents, your writings, your conversations, even in private." Lord Ellenborough's dislike to the Court of Directors will be best understood by a quotation from one of his letters to the Duke. "India," he wrote, "can only be governed by great views, and as India; and these gentlemen would have me govern it on little views, and as England; but that I will not do." We give, by way of conclusion to this portion of his life, the last sentence of his correspondence with the Queen, being his own review of his administration written to the highest authority in England. "Amidst all the difficulties," he said, "with which he has had to contend, aggravated as they have been by the constant hostility of the Court of Directors, Lord Ellenborough has ever been sustained by the knowledge that he was serving a most gracious mistress, who would place the most favourable construction upon his conduct; and he now humbly tenders to your Majesty the expression of his gratitude, for that constant support which has animated all his exertions, and has mainly enabled him to place India in the hands of his successor in a state of universal peace, the result of two years of victories, and in a condition of prosperity heretofore unknown."

Lord Ellenborough remained at Calcutta till the arrival of his successor, to whom he gave over charge on July 23, and left on August 1, 1844, less than two years and a half after he had entered on the duties of his high and responsible office. On his return to England he remained for a season unemployed, but was diligent in his attendance at the House of Lords. In 1846 he joined the Cabinet as First Lord of the Admiralty. In 1848 he returned, being the fourth time he held the office, to his former position as

President of the Board of Control. He very much disapproved of Lord Canning's Proclamation regarding Oude after the Great Mutiny, and wrote in condemnation of it a despatch, the premature publication of which made a remarkable sensation, offended the Queen, and embarrassed Her Majesty's Ministers. The Prime Minister, Mr. Disraeli, having taken upon himself the responsibility of disavowing this declaration of policy, Lord Ellenborough resigned his office on May 10, 1858. After this he did not re-enter the public service. He was a frequent and forcible speaker in the House of Lords; but the people generally had lost confidence in him, and he was not again invited to take a seat in the English Cabinet. He died on December 22, 1871, in the eighty-second year of his age. He was married twice. His first wife died young, and we have already recorded the expression of his great grief on this account. He afterwards, in 1824, married Miss Digby; but the marriage proved an unhappy one. His only child died in infancy, so that no one succeeded to the Earldom which was granted him for his eminent services in India; but the lower position of Baron was inherited by one of his nephews.

Lord Ellenborough was a very distinguished, strong, self-reliant man, who was capable of forming clear and well-defined opinions of his own, and who had the moral courage to carry them into practice, even though they were generally condemned; but this very strength of character made him imperious, overbearing, and autocratic. He was eccentric in his ideas and bombastic in his manners. He sometimes did foolish things, imagining that they were wise. There is no doubt, however, that England owes him a debt of gratitude for having retrieved the disasters of the Afghan war, and India is no less indebted to him for having placed her in a position of peacefulness and secure defence. Just at the moment of his arrival in the country the great need was felt for a firm and decided hand to grasp the helm of state; but it would have been better for his own reputation if he had acted in a calmer and quieter manner, for great strength is enhanced by gentleness and modesty. His character was admirably drawn in a leading article

which appeared in the *Times* newspaper the day after his death, and we cannot conclude this brief sketch better than by reproducing a few sentences from it. "Lord Ellenborough," the writer stated, "was trusted by the foremost statesmen of the age; his policy was accepted and maintained by them; there never was a time when it was not possible that he might be called to form a Cabinet; and yet he had little hold on Parliament or the nation. The cause of this seems to have lain in the supposed impulsiveness and flightiness of his character, and a certain tendency to despotic proceedings. The public withdrew its confidence, and, in spite of the most highly-placed apologists, would not restore it. He was imposing in person, dignified in deportment, powerful and persuasive in language; but, when placed in a high position, he made his will felt with little consideration for those below or around him. Moreover, his judgment could not be depended upon. No one could say what he would do next, or whether his grandest enterprise might not have a sequel of failure."



VISCOUNT HARDINGE.

VISCOUNT HARDINGE.

FROM A.D. 1785 TO A.D. 1856.

“No sovereign ever possessed a more honest and faithful councillor or a more loyal, fearless, and devoted servant.”

Queen Victoria.

AFTER the memorable battle of Waterloo the allied armies of the English and the Prussians entered the city of Paris, and Marshal Blücher, the Prussian Commander, with his officers, occupied the imperial palace of St. Cloud. One evening a young English officer who had been wounded arrived there, and found that the palace had been lit up in his honour. Guards lined the principal staircase holding torches in their hands, and Marshal Blücher and his staff were standing on the top to welcome him. The Marshal then came down the stairs to embrace him, saying, “My dear friend, to-night you shall be in comfort;” and the guards lifted him up gently, and placed him in a bed formerly occupied by an Empress. This young officer was Colonel Sir Henry Hardinge, who had been selected by the Duke of Wellington to represent the English army on Marshal Blücher’s staff, and to whom the Prussian Commander had become very much attached. The remembrance of this weird scene, of the darkness being lighted up by the flaring torches, of the welcome accorded by the bluff old Marshal, of the tender kindness shown by the tall Prussian guards, lingered long in his memory.

Henry Hardinge was the third son of the Rev. Henry Hardinge, a clergyman, who was the rector of Stanhope in the county of Durham, and was born at Wrotham in the county of Kent on March 30, 1785. He was educated at a school at Durham; but at a very early age, indeed and when he was less than fifteen, he entered the army and joined a regiment which was then serving in Canada. In 1804, when he was still only nineteen, he was promoted to

be a captain; and, soon afterwards, entered the Royal Military College as a student. After studying there for more than a year and a half, he was sent, in December, 1807, to join the staff of the Quarter-Master-General's department in the army then despatched to help the Portuguese and Spaniards against the French. This is generally known as the Peninsular War. Captain Hardinge served with distinction in this war. He took part in several of the more important battles fought during it, and was wounded four times. He had the privilege of being present at the battle of Corunna, and of being by the side of that brave hero, Sir John Moore, when he was mortally wounded. Many of our readers may have read or learned the beautiful verses in which the poet has described the burial of Sir John Moore, and these lines have caused his heroism to be known and remembered to this day. The first verse will recall them to our reader's memory.

“ Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,
As his corse to the rampart we hurried;
Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot
O'er the grave where our hero we buried.”

The action, however, in which Captain Hardinge most distinguished himself, was that of Albuera, in which perhaps the severest and most stubborn contest between the English and the French took place. In fact, it was his promptitude and decision that turned the tide of battle, which was at first going against the English. He was high in the favour of the Duke of Wellington, who commanded during the greater part of the Peninsular War, and whose singular military genius defeated several of Napoleon's greatest generals. He was promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel in the King's Guards, and on January 2, 1815, he received the honour of knighthood, being made a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath. During the brief campaign in 1815 which ensued after the escape of Napoleon Buonaparte from Elba, and which ended in the crowning victory of Waterloo, Sir Henry Hardinge, as we have already stated, represented the English army on Marshal Blücher's staff, for which position the Duke of

Wellington specially chose him as an officer possessing a large amount of firmness, tact, and judgment. He was on June 15th, at Marshal Blücher's side during the whole of the battle of Ligny, which preceded Waterloo; and near the close of the day his left hand was shattered by a cannon ball, and it had afterwards to be cut off. He had the courage, however, to remain by Blücher till the very end of the battle; but he was not present at the battle of Waterloo itself.

For more than twenty years afterwards Sir Henry Hardinge was busily employed and greatly distinguished in a very different scene of action to that of war. In 1820 he entered Parliament as the member for the city of Durham; and he represented either that city or Launceston in the House of Commons, with a brief exception, until 1844, when he was appointed Governor-General. During the period when he sat in Parliament he was often employed in the service of the Government as a Minister of the Crown. He belonged to the Tory or Conservative party; and whenever that party was in power during the above-mentioned period, he was offered some high office in the State. He was twice the Secretary at War, and he twice served as Chief Secretary for Ireland, the latter being a peculiarly difficult and responsible, but, at the same time, a very thankless position. When some one expressed to the Duke of Wellington a doubt of his fitness for this appointment, the Duke replied: "Hardinge will do; he always understands what he undertakes, and undertakes nothing but what he understands." He had no easy task to perform, for he was compelled by his position to confront in Parliament the attacks of the celebrated and eloquent Daniel O'Connell, who advocated the repeal of the union between England and Ireland. We quote one passage only from a speech he delivered in the House of Commons, both as a specimen of his own oratory, and as the expression of an opinion which, even at the present day, would apply equally to Ireland and to India. "Let me ask any calm and moderate statesman," he said "whether the Irish people are really insulted because there is a

refusal to pass laws of the same nature and principle as those passed for England. The real principle, for all practical purposes, appears to be to consider the social, political, and religious state of the country, and to legislate in such a manner as to afford equal protection to every profession and party, and to give equal enjoyment of all rights and privileges to every subject." It is said that, as Secretary at War, Sir Henry Hardinge fairly won the title of the "Soldier's Friend"; but it is beyond the scope of this memoir to describe the measures by which he earned this creditable title. During his Parliamentary career, he was particularly attached to his chief, Sir Robert Peel, who, on his part, entertained for him a peculiar affection.

Sir Henry Hardinge had thus obtained very great experience both in his own profession as an officer who had seen much service and had highly distinguished himself, and in political life as a member of Parliament and as a Cabinet Minister. When, therefore, Lord Ellenborough was recalled by the Court of Directors, much satisfaction was felt when he was offered the post of Governor-General. Lord Ellenborough himself, who was his brother-in-law and friend, was pleased that he was to be succeeded by one whom he so much esteemed. "The selection of Sir Henry Hardinge as my successor," he wrote, "was a most wise measure. It has done all that could be done to obviate any evils which might otherwise have arisen from my recall." At the banquet given to the outgoing Governor-General by the Court of Directors, the Chairman spoke very strongly as to the maintenance of respect for the authority of the Court,—the principal point in which his predecessor had failed. "We are persuaded," he said, "that you will impress this feeling on our servants abroad, not merely by precept, but by your example." It was confidently and earnestly hoped that peace in India would be maintained, although the Court of Directors must have known the danger impending on the North-West frontier from the army of the Sikhs, so the Chairman stated the exact position of affairs when he said: "By our latest intelligence we are induced to hope that peace will be preserved in India. I need not say that

it is our anxious wish that it should be so. You know how great are the evils of war. And we feel confident that, while ever ready to maintain unimpaired the honour of the country and the supremacy of our arms, your policy will be essentially pacific. It has always been the desire of the Court that the government of the East India Company should be eminently just, moderate, and conciliatory; but the supremacy of our power must be maintained, when necessary, by the force of our arms."

Sir Henry Hardinge, when he accepted the appointment of Governor-General, was in his sixtieth year, an age at which it is not usual for European gentlemen to enter on arduous duties in a tropical climate. He had already declined the offer of the post of Commander-in-Chief of India, which had been made to him two years before; but he considered it his duty on this occasion to respond to the request of his friends, and especially of Sir Robert Peel; and, though the fact of leaving many who were dear to him in England was a great wrench, his sense of patriotism led him to undergo it cheerfully. It is only right to quote the words used later by Sir Robert Peel in order to show the position in England which he was giving up. "He made a great sacrifice," said that eminent statesman, speaking in the House of Commons, "from a sense of public duty. He held a prominent place in the Councils of Her Majesty; he was held in great esteem in this House. He was regarded by the army of this country as its friend, because he was the friend of justice to all ranks. It was proposed to him to relinquish his place in the councils of his Sovereign, and to forego the satisfaction he must have felt at what he could not fail to see, that he was an object of general respect and esteem." He had to leave behind one who was peculiarly dear to him. On December 10, 1821 he had been united to Emily, daughter of the Marquis of Londonderry, who had been previously married to the late Mr. James, British Minister at the Court of the Netherlands. Lady Hardinge was in too delicate a state of health to permit of her going with him to India; and, when later in the year, she attempted to follow him, her medical adviser

insisted on her return. Sir Henry left England on June 12, 1844, and he was the first Governor-General who went out by the overland route, going through France and Egypt to Calcutta, where, accompanied by his eldest son, who has lately written an admirable biography of him, and his aide-de-camp, Colonel Wood, he arrived on July 23. He took the oaths on the same day, and on the next day entered on the responsible duties of his office. The most important events of his administration were connected with the first Panjab war; but, before referring to it, we must devote a little space to the humbler and more peaceful details of his first year in this country. It is said that, before his leaving England, he had an interview with that wise and able ruler whose government is still remembered with affection in Bombay, the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, who warned him against interfering with the details of civil government. He acted, we believe, on this advice, and fully trusted the Secretaries and others in whose charge the various departments of the state were placed; but he heartily applied himself to master the principles of all the great measures then before the Government of India. One of the first of this was the subject of education, which has since become so very prominent in the thoughts of subsequent Governors-General and Viceroys, and which has, of late years, made such rapid strides. Within three months of his arrival, on October 10, 1844, he wrote a minute, in which occurs the following passage, and which he tried to follow up by promoting those who had proved their ability by passing successful examinations. "The Governor-General," he wrote, "having taken into consideration the existing state of education in Bengal, and being of opinion that it is highly desirable to afford it every reasonable encouragement by holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction a fair prospect of employment in the public service, and thereby not only to reward individual merit, but to enable the State to profit as largely as possible by the result of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people as well by the Government as by private individuals

and societies, has resolved that in every possible case a preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit." That was the day of small things in the matter of education; and five hundred Hindu gentlemen, feeling grateful for the sentiments he had expressed, met in Calcutta to present an address of thanks to the Governor-General. Another measure which he advanced was the reduction of the salt-tax in Bengal. He also gave his attention to the subject of Railway communication in India. He advocated the construction of the Grand Trunk line, and the free grant of land and other advantages to private Companies. But the best and most useful measure which he passed before leaving Calcutta for the Upper Provinces was an order forbidding Sunday labour in all Government offices. His son and biographer has rightly called this order, "a boon to all creeds, and one that was thoroughly appreciated by every section of the community"—not to Christians only. "It means a weekly day of rest to hundreds of thousands who would not otherwise have had one." This first year of work at the capital was a busy one. His usual custom was, after a short ride in the early morning, to transact the day's business with the several secretaries. He had been recommended not to grant interviews to petitioners and others. "Had he done so," his son remarks, "it would have been impossible, ruling, as he then did, Lower Bengal as well as the whole of India, to have got through his day's work."

As the year 1845 wore on, it became necessary that the Governor-General should visit the North-West frontier. He arrived at Umballa on December 3. Affairs in the Panjab were very threatening, and an invasion of India by the Sikh army was imminent. Since the death of the strong old despot Ranjit Sing on June 27, 1839, there had been no settled government in the Panjab. There had, in fact, been little less than anarchy. Sovereigns and ministers had been murdered, and all real power was in the hands of

the army. The soldiery would obey no one save themselves, and they were governed not by their own officers even, but by military *pancháyats*. At the time of Sir Henry Hardinge's arrival in India, Dhuleep Sing, the infant son of Ranjít Sing, then nearly five years of age, was the Maharaja, and his mother was the Queen Regent, while Heera Sing, who had attached the troops to his interest by an increase of pay, was Prime Minister. In December, 1844, he offended the army by attempting to curtail its power, and he was put to death together with his influential Hindu adviser. The management of affairs was then usurped by Jowahir Sing; the Maharani's brother, and by her favourite Lal Sing. The former, however, did not remain long in power, for he was condemned and executed by order of a military *pancháyat*. The allegiance of the army was divided between Lal Sing and a Sirdar named Tej Sing, Lal Sing being appointed Prime Minister and Tej Sing the General in command. Gulab Sing, whom the Governor-General in one of his letters describes as the most remarkable man in the Panjab, and who had risen to great eminence from having been a menial in Ranjít Sing's employ, was destined to take a prominent part in the affairs of the country, more by generally holding back and coming forward at critical times than by exercising any great share in the government. The Maharani had urged the army to coerce both him and Mulraj, the Dewan of Multan; and now, to divert it from doing damage, she incited it to cross the Sutlej and to invade British India.

It has been said that Lord Ellenborough prided himself on the profound peace in which he handed over India to his successor. This can scarcely have been the case, for, although there was quiet at that time, no one knew better than he that a struggle was inevitable, although it might be postponed for a time. So early as February, 1844, he had informed Her Majesty of this fact. "It is to be hoped," he wrote, "that the state of the Panjab may not render necessary in December next an operation beyond the Sutlej; but every prudent preparation will be made with a view to enabling the army to make that operation whenever it may

become necessary. It must be always viewed as a measure which can only be deferred." Her Majesty's Ministers were perfectly aware of the position of affairs on the frontier. So were the Court of Directors. It was in view of this danger, that one was appointed Governor-General who was a distinguished soldier as well as a statesman of some experience. From the very first Sir Henry Hardinge's attention was drawn to the attack expected from the Panjab and the defence of the frontier. Lord Ellenborough had considerably increased the forces in that quarter; but the new Governor-General did not think that the increase was sufficient, so he gradually and quietly reinforced the frontier military stations, until the total force numbered about 40,500 men with ninety-four guns. The result of these arrangements was that, nine days after the Sikhs had crossed the Sutlej, they were met by an army of nearly 20,000 men on the field at Ferozeshah.

The Sikhs completed the crossing of the boundary river on December 12, 1845. It seems that the strength and the enthusiasm of the Khalasa army were not at first realized even at head-quarters. The Sikh soldiers were, it is true, full of presumption and vain glory. They had, however, been trained under European officers, and were animated by religious and national zeal of no common order. They composed, perhaps, the bravest and best disciplined army that had ever encountered the British arms in India. On December 12, the Governor-General received intelligence of the Sikh invasion, and he at once issued a proclamation declaring war, and annexing to the British territories all the districts belonging to the Sikhs on the south of the Sutlej. He then rode from Ambala to Ludhiana, the garrison of which place he removed on his own authority to Basian, which was the grain depôt for the English army, and therefore of great importance. The garrison of Ferozepore was likewise strengthened, and its commandant, Sir John Littler, considered it quite able to defend the town from any attack. The Sikh army declined his offer of battle, and Lal Sing, who commanded the main army,

marched ten miles to Ferozeshah, where he constructed formidable entrenchments, leaving a smaller force under Tej Sing to watch Sir John Littler's movements. Hearing, however, that both the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief were advancing towards him, he went forward to meet them to the village of Mudki. Lal Sing had taken up his position behind a jungle, waiting to be attacked, but finding that the English army (December 13,) had halted at the end of a wearying march of twenty-one miles over a barren plain, he moved out to the attack. Though taken for the moment by surprise, order soon prevailed. The action was begun late and went on far into the night. The enemy's attempt to outflank with his cavalry was successfully met, and the Sikhs were driven from each position, the conflict being maintained during an hour and a half of dim starlight, amidst a cloud of dust which made it difficult to distinguish between friend and foe. "We advanced through some jungle," said Sir Henry Hardinge, in a private letter to the President of the Board of Control, "and after a heavy cannonade and file-firing, drove our assailants back at every point, advancing about four miles from our camp and capturing seventeen guns. The darkness of the night, and the risk of the troops firing into each other, which they did, rendered it necessary that the pursuit should not be continued."

Sir Henry Hardinge had not been appointed to the combined offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, as had been done in the case of military officers who had formerly been in position of his high office. Desiring, however, to remain with the army in the field and to assist the Commander-in-Chief the utmost of his power, he nobly offered to place himself under the orders of the latter as second in command, an offer which was thankfully accepted. It now appears, according to letters which have recently been published for the first time by his son, that the authorities in England disapproved of this step; and, on receiving news of the first two severe battles in the Panjab, evidently were anxious that he should be in full command. "The Cabinet have decided," the President

of the Board of Control wrote to him, "that it is indispensably necessary that some means should be taken whereby the command of all the operations in the field should be under you. It has a very strange and somewhat unseemly appearance that the Governor-General should be acting as second in command to the Commander-in-Chief in the field; and as these Panjab affairs are so much mixed up with political matters it is quite reasonable that the same head should direct both." Therefore a letter from the Queen was sent to him, enabling him as Lieutenant-General on the staff to command personally all the troops in India. This letter did not reach him till the final victories had been gained, and there was no need to use the power entrusted to him. He magnanimously replied that the affair had been embarrassing to him, adding, "But I have taken my line and done my best; and as the suspension of the order can do no harm; I hope to spare Sir Hugh Gough's feelings by preventing the publication of an arrangement made under very different circumstances from those in which we are now placed."

Three days after Mudki another and even a severer battle took place. On December 20 a night march was made, and by daybreak the army found themselves before the Sikh entrenchments at Ferozeshah, which were very formidable, and skilfully arranged in a parallelogram. A circuitous route had been taken so as to attack the weakest side of the Sikh encampment. Just as the army had halted, and the Governor-General and his staff were taking something to eat on horseback, the Commander-in-Chief rode up and exclaimed, "Sir Henry, if we attack at once, I promise you a splendid victory"! A small grove was near, and the two officers went there to have a quiet conference. Sir Hugh Gough repeated his proposal for an immediate attack several times, the Governor-General objecting. At length the latter closed the argument by saying, "Then, Sir Hugh, I must exercise my civil powers as Governor-General, and forbid the attack until Littler's force has come up." This was a force consisting of some 5,000 men from Ferozepore, which was under the command of Sir John Littler. He

had been directed to join the main army; and had, at eight A. M. left his camp standing at Ferozepore, with a sufficient force for defence, had evaded the vigilance of Tej Sing, and joined the army at about one o'clock. There was a delay in beginning the action after Sir John Littler's arrival, and there was but little day-light left to fight in; but, according to Sir Henry Hardinge's opinion, it would not have been right to have put off the battle. "About three P. M. we were formed," he wrote, "opposite the entrenched camp" of the Sikhs, "and, I think, on the weakest side. It was scarcely possible to adopt any other alternative than to fight the battle that afternoon. The men were not tired. There were three hours of day light. The moral effect of fighting at once prevented Tej Sing from coming up. I entirely approved of the battle being fought that evening."

The description of the battle of Ferozeshah has often been written. We will, therefore, give the account here according to the principle of this series, from the letters of the Governor-General himself, which have recently been published by his son, the present Viscount Hardinge, and which are the more interesting because they contain details that have never before been made public. They give a vivid picture of this terrible engagement, and, of course, they include not only what he himself actually saw, but an abstract of the reports officially addressed to him. "The ground," he wrote, "was intersected with low trees and bushes rendering the advance in line very difficult; and when we did open into the plain, the fire from the batteries was tremendous." Sir Hugh Gough was in command of the right of the army; Sir Henry commanded the centre; and Sir John Littler the left. "The people under my immediate command," Sir Henry continued, "carried the battery and camp; and we were pushing through in the midst of their tents, when, by the explosion of some powder the tents caught fire, and we were obliged, almost in the dark, to take up ground on the edge of the burning camp. Here I insisted on every man lying down and not talking." "We had gained," he said elsewhere, "that portion of the camp opposed to us, as did the right

under Sir Hugh Gough." "On the left, Littler having failed by" one of the European regiments "giving way, he retired a short distance, and we could not find him. On my right I was joined in about an hour by the Commander-in-Chief." "Thus the left centre having perfectly succeeded, but obliged by the burning of the camp and the darkness of the night to suspend its operations, we remained quiet, the enemy on both flanks of the camp firing in the dark, while their camp opposite to us was continually exploding live shells and loose powder. Whenever they were too impudent, I ordered up Colonel Wood," his aide-de-camp, "with the 80th and 1st Europeans. The vigour of this attack caused the enemy to recede and confine their firing to the batteries on their extreme flanks. I had been on horseback since four the preceding morning, and I lay down successively with four of the British regiments to ascertain their temper and give the encouragement required. I found myself again with my old Peninsula friends, all in good heart." The calmness, coolness, courage, and self-forgiveness of the Governor-General during that appalling night are beyond all praise. His example put life and energy into every drooping heart. Whenever any suggestion of retreat to Ferozepore was made, he replied that their line of duty was quite clear, namely, to wait patiently for the morning, and then, without a moment's hesitation, to attack the enemy and carry everything before them that remained to be carried. "When morning came," he continued, "we carried battery after battery without a check, and completed the victory which the conflagration and darkness had suspended. From about eight to eleven A.M. and at three P.M. the enemy came towards us with immense bodies of cavalry and infantry. The latter showed the same spirit as before; but, whenever our jaded men advanced, the Sikhs retired." "At three o'clock a demonstration was made. The infantry was in line, in a firm attitude to resist any attack. At this moment the British cavalry were suddenly seen to go off towards Ferozepore, followed by the horse artillery. The infantry, with the greatest unconcern, held their ground and advanced when

required." This movement of the cavalry was made under a misapprehension, a wrong order having been given by an irresponsible officer. "The enemy again retired, afraid of the infantry." It is believed that they imagined this retreat was intended as a flank movement to cut them off from the river. "We slept in the open air in rear of the infantry. The Sikhs were evidently in full retreat." With reference to the whole of the operations of this stubbornly contested battle, the Governor-General thus sums up his impressions: "I know I am not responsible for military misconceptions, nor will I say one word on the extraordinary position in which I am placed. I have never desponded; and now I can sincerely assure you that, as far as these difficult operations are concerned, I am perfectly satisfied. No impression has been made on the loyalty of the sepoys. Victory has re-assured the wavering."

Before these battles the garrison at Ludhiana had been considerably decreased, and a band of Sikhs now attacked the cantonments. A large force, moreover, crossed the Sutlej under a leader named Ranjur Sing near Ludhiana. A force was immediately despatched under Sir Harry Smith to encounter him, and to relieve Ludhiana. After some mishaps Sir Harry Smith was, on January 28, 1846, entirely successful in defeating his opponent near the village of Aliwal.

The attention of every one was now directed towards Sobraon, where, on the left bank of the Sutlej, the Sikhs had carefully been constructing another strong entrenched camp, with a bridge across the river in its rear. A considerable delay in attacking it was caused by the necessity for obtaining siege guns and ammunition from Delhi. There was communication between the Governor-General at Ferozepore and the Commander-in-Chief in his camp near Sobraon. The present Lord Hardinge relates what pleasant rides his father and the staff used to have in riding from Ferozepore to Sobraon two or three times a week. "Starting at daybreak in the fresh air of the morning," he says, "we were then a group of joyous spirits, the Governor-General heading the cavalcade on his favourite Arab 'Mi-

ani,' and followed by the escort of the body-guard. A few days before the impending battle, Sir Henry had a severe fall, his horse coming down with him, and bruising his leg ; but when the news of the approach of the long-expected siege train was received, he at once hastened to the Commander-in-Chief's camp in a light mule carriage. When the morning of the engagement February 10, arrived, he mounted his horse as usual ; though still suffering from the effects of his fall.

It was intended that no assault on the formidable batteries of the Sikhs should be made until an impression had been made upon them by the heavy guns which had now been received. " If, upon the fullest consideration," Sir Henry Hardinge wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, " the artillery can be brought into play, I recommend you to attack ; if it cannot, and you anticipate a heavy loss, I would recommend you not to attempt it." The Commander-in-Chief agreed with this opinion ; but it was considered feasible to make the attempt, and, as the dense mist that hung over the plain at day-break rolled away, the guns opened on the entrenchments, and, for two hours, a vigorous cannonade was carried on from both sides. No great impression, however, was made on the strongly planted batteries of the enemy, and it was determined to take the entrenchments by assault. The principal attack was to be made by the left of the English army against the western defences of the Sikhs entrenchments which appeared to be the weakest, while feigned attacks were made by the centre and the right. The defence was, however, so stubborn that it was necessary to turn the feigned attacks into real ones. The fire was so hot that the assailants at all three points gave way for a time ; but courageously rallying, carried all before them. At the point nearest to him, the Governor-General, seeing that the line was wavering, shouted, " ' Rally those men.' " No sooner were the words out of his mouth than his aide-de-camp, Colonel Wood, galloped to the centre of the line, and, seizing the colours from the hands of the ensign, carried them to the front." All along the line this rally occurred ; and the cavalry, entering an

opening in the entrenchments, helped to discomfit the enemy. The Sikh guns were carried at the point of the bayonet, and the Sikh army hurried towards their bridge of boats, which, according to the account of the present Lord Hardinge, who was an eye-witness of what occurred, gave way under the pressure of the men, horses, and guns which crowded on it, and the rapidly flowing river was filled with a struggling mass of fugitives. Very few escaped. The vast army which had, a few weeks before invaded British India, was driven back across the Sutlej. Sixty-seven guns fell into the victors' hands, and the brave Khalsa array had been thoroughly defeated. That evening six regiments crossed into the enemy's country near Ferozepore. The Governor-General himself crossed the river two days later, and, by the 13th, the whole army with the exception of three brigades, had set foot in the Panjab. As Sir Henry Hardinge was personally engaged in these battles, we have given the account of them more in detail than we should otherwise have done; and we close this description of the battle of Sobraon with a few extracts from a letter afterwards written by himself. "When the attacking column," he wrote, "was repulsed, I was obliged to order Gilbert's division forward at once, who, after a gallant advance, was, for the moment, driven back; but the attacking column having been thus relieved, in its turn rushed forward, and from that moment had no check. In like manner Smith's division had to carry very strong batteries. The leading brigade was repulsed; the brigade in reserve carried the works. Thus the three divisions engaged were each in their turn checked, rallied, and carried everything before them. The exploit of the army is one of the most daring in the annals of our military history." By the February 16, the whole English army had encamped at Kasur, only thirty-two miles from the capital of the Panjab.

The next point was what terms should be dictated to the conquered Sikhs; and, as it is our object to give the views of the Governor-General on this and other matters in his own words, we quote the following extract from a letter

written at Kasur some days before the treaty of Lahore was executed. "A diminution of the strength of such a warlike nation on our weakest frontier seems to me," he wrote, "to be imperatively required. I have, therefore, determined to take a strong and fertile district between the Sutlej and the Beas. This will cover Ludhiana and bring us within a few miles of Amritsar. In a military sense, it will be very important—it will weaken the Sikhs. I shall demand one million and a half in money as compensation; and, if I can arrange to make Ghulab Sing and the Hill tribes independent, including Kashmir, I shall have weakened this warlike republic. Its army must be disbanded and reorganized. The Maharaja must himself present the keys of Govindgarh and Lahore, where the terms must be dictated and signed." In these words were contained the germs of the treaty of Lahore. The young Maharaja, the late Dhuleep Sing, then a bright little boy of eight, was brought into the Governor-General's camp by some of the Sikh Sirdars, among whom was Ghulab Sing, who then held the office of minister. Sir Henry Hardinge described the young sovereign as "acting his part without any fear and with all the good breeding peculiar to the Eastern people." The treaty of Lahore was ratified on March 9, 1846. The district of Jallandar, above described, was annexed to the British dominions; an indemnity of a crore and a half of rupees was demanded for the expenses of the war; and the Sikh army, which was the cause of it, was disbanded and was reformed on a smaller scale. As the Sikh Durbar were unable to pay the full amount of the indemnity which was demanded, seventy-five lakhs of rupees were paid by Ghulab Sing in consideration of his being left in independent sovereignty of Kashmir. This prince, who though he had a Sikh name, was a Rajput by birth, had throughout acted in a very cautious, not to say, treacherous manner; and the part of the treaty relating to him was much criticised at the time. The following letter to Lord Ellenborough, who had questioned his policy in this respect, has been published by Sir Henry Hardinge's son, and we do not think it has been hitherto made public. It

contains his justification of his own views on the subject. "Ghulab Sing," he wrote in reply, "was never minister at Lahore for the administration of its affairs. When the invasion took place, he remained at Jamu, and took no part against us, but tendered his allegiance on condition of being confirmed in the position of his own territories. This was neither conceded nor refused, as the paramount power did not think it becoming, while the armies were in presence of each other, to show any doubt as to the result by granting terms. I merely referred him to the terms of the Proclamation of December. Nevertheless, it was clearly to be understood by the terms of that Proclamation that, if Ghulab Sing took no part against us, he was entitled to consideration, whenever the affairs of the Panjab came to be settled. During the whole of the Campaign he had purposely kept aloof; not a single Hill soldier had fired a shot against us, so that the Government had every right to treat with him. Were we to be deterred from doing what was right, and what had previously been determined upon, because the Lahore Durbar, knowing he had not participated in their crimes, chose to employ him for a particular object as being the man most acceptable to us? He came to Lahore, protesting publicly in Durbar against all that had been done. He had been told by Major Lawrence that we appreciated his wisdom in not having taken arms against us, and that his interests would be taken into consideration. It was always intended that Ghulab Sing, whose troops had not fired a shot, should have his case fully considered. After the war commenced, were we to abandon our policy and to treat the only man who had not lifted up his arm against us with indifference, because he came to head-quarters specially deputed by the Lahore Durbar to confer with us as one who had not joined in their unprovoked invasion? His forbearance was rewarded, because this forbearance was in accordance with an intended policy, and because the charge of treachery could not be substantiated."

The treaty of Lahore was ratified at a grand ceremonial held in a tent. The young Maharaja and his Sirdars were

present, and the terms of peace were proclaimed by the Governor-General in state. On this occasion the splendid diamond, called the Koh-i-nur, "mountain of light," which now belongs to the Empress of India, was surrendered. It was arranged that the government of the Panjab should be carried on by Lal Sing as prime minister, Major Lawrence being appointed the British Resident at Lahore. The new Sikh government besought the Governor-General that an English force might be permitted to remain near the capital to ensure order ; but their request was complied with only so far as to allow a sufficient force to remain there until December. Sir Henry Hardinge himself, at the conclusion of hostilities, went for a season to Simla, there to enjoy a little well-earned relaxation and repose. While there, he received the tidings of his having been created a peer for his services in the late campaign, and of the unanimous approval of his policy and conduct by the authorities in England. He was particularly gratified by the letter written to him by the prime minister of England, his old friend Sir Robert Peel. "I know not," that sagacious statesman wrote, and he professed to express the opinion not only of the great mass of his fellow-countrymen, but of the reflecting few, "what I can add to the simple admiration of your conduct, military and civil, throughout the whole and every part of your proceedings and policy on the banks of the Sutlej. The original forbearance, the promptitude and skill with which an unprovoked aggression was repelled, the full reparation demanded, the dignity and calm fortitude with which it was insisted upon, the wisdom of the conditions imposed with reference not merely to our character for moderation in victory, but to the permanent interests of the Indian Empire, are themes on which volumes might be written. These volumes, however, could add nothing to the assurance of the most cordial approbation of every act that has been done and every line that has been written. There is here universal approval of your policy from first to last ; above all things, your moderation after victory is most applauded. It is thought, and justly thought, that it adds a lustre to the skill and valour displayed in

the military achievements. It is ten times more gratifying to the public mind than the annexation of the whole of the Panjab would have been."

Lord Hardinge now felt anxious to resign. Domestic reasons partly pressed upon him; but just at this time a change of ministry took place in England, and he considered it his duty to remain, if the new ministers should urge him to do so, in order that he might watch the result of his policy in the Panjab. He was thus urged, and he consented to remain at his post for a time. It was well that it should be so, for troubles soon arose in the Panjab. Sheikh Imam-ud-din, the governor of Kashmir, rebelled against the authority of Ghulab Sing; and, on the insurrection being promptly quelled by Major Lawrence, it was discovered that his proceedings had been incited by Lal Sing, the prime minister of Lahore, himself. This treachery demanded a change in the administration. On his being proved guilty, Lal Sing was removed from Lahore, and the Government was placed in the hands of a Council of Regency consisting of eight chiefs, under the absolute control of the British Resident, who were to govern the province for the next eight years, that is, during the minority of the Maharaja. A British force was to occupy the Panjab for this period. A new treaty to this effect was signed on December 16, 1846. The Governor-General again visited Lahore in this month in order to carry out this settlement. All these negotiations were conducted by him on his sole responsibility, without reference to his Council at Calcutta or to the Government in England, full authority for this purpose having been given to him by the President of the Board of Control. This officer wrote to him after the execution of the second treaty of Lahore: "I have only to congratulate you on all you have done and are doing. The best guides of public opinion are delighted with your arrangements, and give you credit for biding your time and doing the right thing at the right moment."

On his return journey to Calcutta Lord Hardinge paid a visit to the Nawab of Oude at Lucknow for the purpose of remonstrating with him regarding the mismanagement of

his dominions, which, in fact, amounted almost to anarchy. Continual warnings had been given to the Nawabs of Oude that the misgovernment in territory so closely adjoining British India could not be permitted; but they had always proved useless, and the cruelty, recklessness, and profligacy which were rampant there, still continued to prevail. An instance of the lawlessness of the Lucknow mob is related in Lord Hardinge's biography of his father. Both the Nawab and his minister were unpopular, and the latter was attacked in the streets of Lucknow by some fanatics who threatened him with instant death, if he did not promise a large ransom as the price of his release. The English Resident came to the spot on hearing of the disturbance, and succeeded in releasing the Vizier, and in capturing his assailants, but not till after the money had been paid by the Vizier's friends. The men were placed on their trial, though the Governor-General expressed his dissatisfaction at the Resident having been implicated as the protector of such miscreants. On Lord Hardinge's approach, the city of Lucknow was beautifully illuminated, and grand 'entertainments' were given by the Nawab in his honour. These were principally fights between various animals and similar grotesque amusements. The solemn words of warning, which were in the form of a letter, were received with outward respect, they were written in golden characters with illustrations, and returned to the Governor-General with these tokens of respect; but, though thus outwardly respected, they passed unheeded, and the way was made plain for the annexation of the country, which took place under the administration of Lord Hardinge's successor. The warning was very plain. The Nawab was reminded of what had taken place since the treaty of 1801, and especially of the fact that Lord William Bentinck had, when he was Governor-General, threatened to take the province under British rule. A very clear statement was made that, if the present condition of misrule and anarchy was not brought to an end, extreme measures would be used, and two years were mentioned as the time allowed for some improvement. "In case of delaying the execution

of this policy were the actual words employed, "it has been determined by the Government of India to take the management of Oude under their own authority." The Nawab of Oude had thus fair notice of what was likely to occur if the lawlessness and anarchy then existing in his kingdom were permitted to continue.

Lord Hardinge's administration was distinguished not only for the successful warfare waged against the Sikhs, but also for much peaceful progress and for useful measures intended for the benefit of the whole Empire. We have already mentioned the interest he took in the education of the people. He took a special and lively interest in the great subject of irrigation, and pushed forward the scheme of the Ganges Canal. It had been planned by Major Cautley of the Bengal Engineers; but had been kept in abeyance by strong and active opposition in many quarters, and had been entirely set aside during the troublous and warlike time of his two immediate predecessors. He decided, however, that it should now be energetically proceeded with, and, being deeply impressed with the evils of famine which it was intended to decrease, he gave it his hearty approval and sanction. Though the full results of this beneficent undertaking were not seen till after his time, the credit of sanctioning it, and providing the money for it is due to Lord Hardinge. Other similar schemes for irrigation and navigation followed in other parts of India, and notably in the Madras Presidency, and have been of untold benefit to the agricultural population. The great subjects of the prevention of human sacrifices, suttee, and infanticide also occupied Lord Hardinge's attention. He did his utmost to have the two latter suppressed in the protected states. He used all his authority and influence to uphold the hands of Major Macpherson in his efforts to put down the practice of human sacrifices among the Khonds in Orissa and Ganjam. Lord Hardinge had the satisfaction of stating that, during his rule, the practice had been entirely suppressed. Notwithstanding the great drain on the finances of India during the Panjab war, he had also the satisfaction of leaving the country in a far better financial

condition than it had been since the outbreak of the first Afghan war. The sepoy army had been decreased in number, though its efficiency was preserved unimpaired by its having occupied better strategical positions than before; and thus a great strain was removed from the finances, and it was possible to pay more attention to irrigation and other works needed for the good of the whole of the people of India.

The time was now drawing near for Lord Hardinge to lay down the burden of office. He was looking forward to it with joyful anticipation to a season for holiday and refreshment. "I must shrink," he wrote in one of his last letters to Lady Hardinge, "from no duty to a public which has rewarded me so largely, and must maintain to the last the principle which I exact from my subordinates that public interests ought not to be neglected. Whilst wars and bankruptcy threatened the State, I remained. Now that peace is established and prosperity reviving, I return with the consciousness that I have done my duty." An address as presented to him on his arrival at Calcutta after a long absence which, as we have seen, had been marked by many memorable and stirring events; and on December 24, 1847, another address was placed before him by the inhabitants of that city, requesting that some personal memorial might be erected there to remind them of himself long after he had resigned his office. The result of this was the admirable equestrian statue of him by Mr. J. H. Foley, R. A., which adorns the Maidan at Calcutta. On January 12, 1848, Lord Dalhousie, who had been chosen as his successor, reached Calcutta and took charge of the office of Governor-General, and, just six days afterwards, Viscount Hardinge, nothing loath, steamed down the river in the *Mozuffar* on his way to England. On his passage he inspected the fortifications of Aden and reported on a military route in Egypt, and, finally, after travelling across the Continent of Europe, reached his native land on March 20.

Lord Hardinge, was not suffered, after his return, to sink into insignificance or to go into retirement. Within

a few months of setting his foot on shore, he was sent to Ireland on special duty at the time of a petty and transitory rebellion there incited by Smith O'Brien, which ended in a foolish failure. In 1852 the Earl of Derby, then Prime Minister of England, gave him the appointment of Master-General of the Ordnance; but he did not hold it very long, for, in the month of September in that year, the English nation had the great sorrow of losing by death the services of their distinguished leader and captain, the Duke of Wellington, and Viscount Hardinge, with the approval of the entire people of England, received the high honour of being appointed to succeed him as Commander-in-Chief of the British army. It was an arduous and responsible position, and it was rendered all the more difficult by his following such a very eminent officer as the Duke of Wellington. He was, however, the instrument of introducing certain reforms which would scarcely have recommended themselves to the judgment of the Duke owing to his own former experience, but which were required by the advance of military science, and approved themselves in the Crimean War which broke out soon after his appointment. The principal of these was the introduction of rifles in place of the old muskets. He also formed a temporary camp of exercise for the army, a measure which was followed by the purchase of ground at Aldershot, where there has since been a permanent camp for the training and manœuvring of troops. On October 1855, Lord Hardinge was made a Field Marshal, being the highest rank in the British army, in recognition of his eminent services.

Lord Hardinge seems almost to have died in harness, for he was taken ill at Aldershot, while he was presenting to Her Majesty the Queen a report on a military subject. He was, for a short time, able to ride about the grounds at his beautiful country estate, South Park, situated a mile to the south of Penshurst Place, in the County of Kent. He interested himself there in agricultural pursuits, and especially in the care of his garden, to which he was much attached. In the midst of these lovely surroundings, he died on September 23, 1856. He was buried in the churchyard of

Fordcombe Green, about a mile to the south of his estate. His own agricultural labourers carried him to his grave ; but his old friend and predecessor, Lord Ellenborough, and his comrade in arms, Lord Gough, attended as a mark of affection and respect. The great Napoleon's sword, which had been given to him by the Duke of Wellington, and which he had with him on the eventful field of Ferozeshah, was laid on his coffin.

Though he was less than four years in power as Governor-General, India owes much to Lord Hardinge. The chief benefit that she derived from him was defence at the time of the Sikh invasion. The careful measures for protection which he adopted, his presence on the scene of danger, his firmness in maintaining his views on the battle-field, his chivalrous action in placing himself in his military capacity under the Commander-in-Chief, his moderation and sagacity in the hour of victory and in the negotiations for administering the Sikh state, all exercised a material influence in securing the sure defence of the North-West frontier of India, and in smoothing the way for his successor when he was compelled to decide on the annexation of the Panjab. India owed to him also many measures in civil affairs as well as in military, which have since been of the greatest benefit. He fostered and encouraged the grand works of irrigation in the North which have materially tended to decrease the calamities of famine. He helped to suppress the evils of infanticide and human sacrifices ; but, perhaps, the greatest blessing he bestowed on India was the prohibition of Sunday labour in the offices of the state. He was himself careful to observe the rest of the Christian Sabbath ; and, although most of the inhabitants of India do not regard the religious obligation of this day of rest, the very fact of relief from official labour at a stated period is an enormous boon to wearied human nature. A weekly rest is a great help to efficient work on the other days of the seven.

Lord Hardinge was very careful in his selection of his officials, and he trusted them fully. He was quick to discern inability and failure, in rectitude or work ; but he

was bland and gentle even when obliged to find fault. He seems to have possessed much tact in dealing with men and in soothing dissensions. Certainly there were few who were served by better or more able subordinates. One of the most accomplished of these wrote thus regarding his administration in the *Calcutta Review*: "We bid adieu to his Lordship with every hearty good wish. He found India threatened by invasion, and almost bankrupt. He has, in all senses, righted the vessel, restored confidence to our ranks, to our allies, and our dependents; replenished the public purse, tranquillized the frontier, and brought peace and security to the long-distracted Panjab. His best reward is in the conviction of his own noble heart—that he has honestly and bravely done his duty; that he leaves behind him more than a hundred millions whom he has largely blessed by enlightened and just measures; and that, returning to his native land, he is regretted by those he leaves behind, and warmly welcomed by men of every shade of opinion, as the pacific warrior, the happy statesman, the man who, in reality brought peace to Asia." What we are sure, however, would have still more gratified Lord Hardinge himself, had he been permitted to see it, is the passage written by Her Majesty which we have placed as the motto at the beginning of this memoir: "No sovereign ever possessed a more honest and faithful councillor, or a more loyal, fearless, and devoted servant."



THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE.

THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE.

FROM A.D. 1812 TO A.D. 1860.

“Dalhousie, of an auld* descent,
 My pride, my stoup,† mine ornament.”
Allan Ramsay.

ONE day in the autumn of the year 1842, a young Scottish nobleman was amusing himself by throwing pebbles into the river which flowed through his estate. While thus idly passing a few moments of a very busy life, a servant ran towards him and announced that the Queen of England and the Prince Consort had arrived to pay him a visit. This young nobleman was the Earl of Dalhousie; and, after he had received his illustrious visitors courteously, he playfully informed Her Majesty, in the course of conversation, that the last time an English sovereign had come to his Castle, “he had remained outside for weeks and never gained admittance.” This was King Henry the Fourth, who had besieged Dalhousie Castle. “We got out for a moment,” was the Queen’s account of this visit in her Journal, “and the Dalhousies showed us the drawing-room. From the window you see a beautiful wooded valley, and a peep of the distant hills.” “The house,” as Her Majesty added, “was a real Scotch castle of reddish stone.” Dalhousie Castle, where the subject of this sketch was born, and where he died, is thus situated in the midst of lovely scenery on the south branch of the river Esk, a few miles to the south-east of the capital of Scotland.

James Andrew Brown Ramsay, the future Governor-General, was born April 22, 1812. He was of noble descent on either side. He was the third son of the ninth Earl of Dalhousie. His mother was the daughter of a landed proprietor in the neighbouring county of Haddingtonshire, who traced his lineage from a noble family in France. His

* Old. • † Support.

second brother died in infancy ; and, while he himself was still young, his elder brother and he were taken by their parents to Canada, of which province their father had been appointed Governor-General. In after years he frequently looked back with pleasure to his early home there. At the age of ten he was sent back to England, where he was placed at Harrow, the famous school not far from London on the north. He spent his school days in the house of the Rev. Dr. Butler, the head-master, and his holidays with his relatives in Scotland. From Harrow he went to the University of Oxford at the age of sixteen, and a few months afterwards his father went to India as Commander-in-Chief, taking with him his eldest son. At the University James Ramsay entered vigorously into the studies and the society of that ancient seat of learning ; and being a member of Christ Church, he became the companion and friend of several who afterwards became distinguished men and among them were Lord Canning and the future Lord Elgin, his successors in the highest position in the Government of India. He evidently read with the object of obtaining honours ; but the death of his elder brother, called him from his studies, and, when he returned to Oxford, he took only an ordinary degree as a Bachelor of Arts. He did so well in his examination, however, that the University authorities gave him the honour of an honorary Fourth Class. In the same year he became of age ; and, two years later, there being then a general election throughout the country, he was a candidate for the representation of Edinburgh in Parliament. He was unsuccessful on that occasion ; but the young candidate gave some indication of his power, by his fluency of speech, strength of will, and good humour in defeat. He was not discouraged, however. Two years after he was returned to the House of Commons as member for Haddingtonshire.

Lord Ramsay, in January, 1836, married Lady Susan Hay, a daughter of the Marquis of Tweeddale, who was afterwards Governor of Madras. This was a very happy union, and, as will be seen hereafter. Lady Dalhousie cheered his home and graced the society of Calcutta, dur-

ing the first few years of his residence in India. He did not remain long in the House of Commons, for, on his father's death in 1838, he succeeded to his seat in the House of Lords, where, however, he did much 'useful service. In the following year he had also the great sorrow of losing his beloved mother. As is the case with many distinguished men, he inherited much of his intellectual power from her. A great friend of hers described her as "a very remarkable person, eminently distinguished for a fund of the most varied knowledge, for a clear and powerful judgment, for acute observation, a kind heart and a brilliant wit." The new Earl of Dalhousie was a Conservative in politics, and was much attached to the statesman who was then the leader of that party, Sir Robert Peel. In the year 1843, he for the first time took office under him as Vice-President of the Board of Trade; and two years later, he was appointed as the President. At that particular period this office entailed very considerable labour on the part of its occupant. The great railway system of England was then being developed, and there was quite a mania for extending it in every direction. The work was incessant, for every application for a new railway had to be subjected to the scrutiny of his department, each line must be proved to be of clear advantage to the country, and the labour of examining the claims of the projectors was so great, and the President of the Board of Trade was so fully resolved that nothing should be sanctioned without his approval, that he over-worked himself, and the seeds of future disease were planted in his frame. Even during the days of his Indian service he did not undergo harder or more continuous work; but the information he then acquired was of the greatest service to him in his future plans for laying the foundation of the railway system in India. In June, 1846, Sir Robert Peel resigned his position as Prime Minister, and, therefore, according to the usual custom in English political life, all his colleagues in the Cabinet, including the Earl of Dalhousie, retired. The new Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, however, recognizing the young peer's ability and power of application, begged him to retain his

position. Lord Dalhousie declined ; but, in the following year, the Governor-Generalship of India became vacant owing to the resignation of Lord Hardinge, and the Prime Minister at once offered it to the Earl of Dalhousie. Such a position being offered to so young a statesman was indeed a splendid tribute to his ability and power, and yet he did not accept it without a struggle, because his feet were already firmly planted on the ladder of political promotion, which would probably have led to some of the highest offices in the state. On receiving the assurance of the Premier that his doing so would not be considered in any way to compromise his relations with his own political party, he accepted this generous offer.

Lord Dalhousie, accompanied by Lady Dalhousie and his suite, left England by the overland route at the end of November, 1847, and reached Calcutta on January 12, 1848. The contrast between the new Governor-General and the departing one was very striking. Their personal appearance also was as diverse as were their previous history and employments. The one was the veteran hero of a hundred battles, who had grown old in his Sovereign's service, and now only eager to retire, if he could be permitted so to do, into the quiet of private life. The other, in the prime of manhood, the youngest man who had yet undertaken the responsibility of a Government such as that of the Indian Empire ; but full of projects for its benefit, and anticipations of peaceful progress. The personal contrast between the two was equally striking. Both were of rather short stature ; but, while one was grey and worn from length of honourable service, the other had a fresh and youthful look, with an aristocratic and even haughty bearing, and a stern manner which showed that he was not to be lightly trifled with or opposed. The two spent nearly a week together, and the new Governor-General had the advantage of hearing from Lord Hardinge's own lips his views and impressions of public affairs, and it is pleasing to learn from the son of the latter that their discussions led to a satisfactory concurrence of opinion.

It was the general feeling both in England and India that there was every prospect of the continuance of peace. The newspapers were full of this happy anticipation, and even the retiring Governor-General assured his successor that, so far as human foresight could predict, it would not be necessary to fire a gun in India for seven years to come. Lord Dalhousie had not, however, been in Calcutta four months, and had only begun to settle down to his work, when swiftly and suddenly tidings reached him of an outbreak in the Panjab, which led to a second Sikh war. That kingdom had been governed well and comparatively in quiet during the year 1847. It had been under the wise and vigilant control of Colonel Henry Lawrence, who had, with a council of Sikh Sirdars, governed it for the youthful Maharaja. On his leaving the Panjab, Sir Frederick Currie succeeded him as Resident. Early in the following year a petty potentate, Dewan Mulraj, of Multan, had resigned his chieftainship of that province, being discontented with the hard terms made with him on his succession, and a Sirdar named Kan Sing was appointed Governor of it in his stead. Two young English officers, Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson, were sent to Multan to instal the Sirdar, and to see that the fort was transferred to his charge. They performed this duty; but, as they were returning to their quarters at an Edga in the suburbs of the city, they were attacked and wounded by fanatics, and, next day, the attack was renewed, and they were slain. Very pathetic is the account of their death. Lieutenant Anderson was lying wounded on a couch and Mr. Vans Agnew was quietly sitting by his side, holding his hand, when the assassins entered. "We are not the last of the English," were the dying words of a the heroic civilian.

A kindred spirit was only a few miles off. The day before his death, Mr. Vans Agnew had written hurriedly two notes in pencil, addressed to the English authorities at Bannu and Lahore. The attack at Multan took place on April 20. Two days later, the former letter fell into the hands of Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes, who was sitting in

his tent at Dehra Fateh Khan, and transacting his ordinary civil duties as a frontier officer. At once, without an hour's delay, he gathered together all the men at his disposal, and hastened towards Multan. He had at first only about 400 men with him, and Mulraj came out to meet him with ten times that number. Aided, however, by General Cortland and by the faithful Nawab of Bhawalpore, he won two battles over Mulraj's far greater force, and for two months he succeeded in keeping the enemy at bay. He compared himself to a terrier barking at a tiger; but it was by such courage, never counting numbers, that India was conquered, and is kept.

The outbreak of Mulraj seemed singular and isolated; but it was in reality merely premature. The whole of the Panjab was honey-combed with treachery and intrigue. The local insurrection soon became a national uprising. At first neither the Governor-General nor the Commander-in-Chief fully realized the true position of affairs. The latter considered that it was advisable to wait for the cold weather before commencing operations, when he would be able to take the field in person. The Resident of Lahore, however, saw that this delay was ruinous, and sent a brigade under General Whish to Multan at the end of July; but disaffection was rife. Chieftains and troops, who were nominally under the Government of Lahore, rose against the English protectorate, and the warriors of the old Khalsa army flocked to the standard of the Sikhs. General Whish, deprived of the help of his Sikh allies, was unable to continue the siege of Multan, and was himself besieged in his entrenchments in the vicinity of that fort, and had to wait for reinforcements.

Lord Dalhousie was by this time thoroughly roused. He always maintained that the rebellion of Mulraj was a revolt against the Government of Lahore, and must be "sedulously distinguished from national wrong;" but, he stated, "when it was seen that the spirit of the whole Sikh people was inflamed by the bitterest animosity against us; when chief after chief deserted our cause, until the whole army led by Sirdars who had signed the treaties, and by members of the

Regency itself, was openly arrayed against us ; when, above all, it was seen that the Sikhs had even combined in unnatural alliance with Dost Muhammad Khan and his Muhammadan tribes ; it became manifest that there was no alternative left. The question for us was no longer one of policy or expediency, but one of national safety." Having thus grasped the true nature of the situation, he left Calcutta for the scene of action, and, in November, he reached Ferozepore, where he made his head quarters during the campaign. Just before he left Barrackpore on his upward journey, he publicly declared, "I have wished for peace ; I have longed for it ; I have striven for it. But unwarned by precedent, uninfluenced by example, the Sikh nation has called for war, and on my word they shall have it with a vengeance." Before Lord Dalhousie's arrival at Ferozepore, Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, had crossed into the Panjab. Two engagements took place at Ramnagar, where a disaster happened to the British cavalry, and at Sadulapore, where an indecisive action occurred. But greater events happened in the first month of the new year. General Whish, reinforced by a column from Bombay, was rendered strong enough to capture the city of Multan on January 2, and twenty days later, on January 22, 1849, the fort was taken, and Mulraj surrendered himself. General Whish then marched with his forces to join the Commander-in-Chief.

Meanwhile, a battle had taken place, which was indeed a victory, but such as caused great loss to the brave English army, and occasioned consternation in England owing to its severity and indecision. It was fought on January 13, at Chilianwala. The feeling regarding this battle was so strong, and the outcry at the impetuosity of Lord Gough was so loud, that the English Government resolved at once to send out Sir Charles Napier to succeed him as Commander-in-Chief ; and, at the earnest request of the Duke of Wellington, that gallant officer started from England for this purpose at three days' notice. Meanwhile, Lord Gough had gained another, and, this time, a final and complete victory. The Sikh army under Rajas Shere Sing and his father Chuttur Sing had

retired to Gujarat on the river Chenab in the north of the Panjab. Dost Muhammad Khan, Amir of Afghanistan, under the strong temptation of recovering Peshawar, which he had coveted for many years, had consented to join the Sikhs, and fifteen hundred Afghan horsemen had united with them, commanded by his son. It was at first a purely artillery battle. The Sikhs were posted in a strong position; but their fire was, in about two hours, silenced by the superior fire on the English side. The main army of the British army advanced and drove them from every position. This battle was fought on February 20, 1849. Lord Dalhousie was determined to make this victory the stepping-stone to the complete defeat of the whole Sikh army. "The war in which we are engaged," he said, "must be prosecuted now to the entire defeat and dispersion of all who are in arms against us, whether Sikhs or Afghans." The Sikhs and their allies were allowed no breathing time. He had selected General Gilbert to carry out this project; and, with unswerving speed, this officer pursued the retreating foe, until, at Rawal Pindi, on March 12, what remained of the Sikh army surrendered to him. He then continued the chase after the Afghan invaders, who fled rapidly back into their mountain fastnesses, closely pursued by a mere handful of English cavalry. "The Feringhis," they reported at Kabul, "have beaten us, and driven us, like deer, over two deserts and across two rivers." Thus ended the second Sikh War. The Panjab has since been a peaceful English province, and the old soldiers of the Khalsa became some of the best and most faithful followers of the English flag.

The Earl of Dalhousie had carefully considered what future course was to be pursued, and, during the months of waiting and of war, he came to the decision that the Panjab must become British territory, if the safety of India was to be secured. "I cordially assented," he wrote, when giving his reasons for annexation, "to the policy which determined to avoid the annexation of these territories on a former occasion. I assented to the principle that the Government of India ought not to desire to add further to

its territories, and I adhere to that opinion still." "But there never will be peace in the Panjab," he added, "so long as its people are allowed the means and the opportunity of making war. There never can be now any guarantee for the tranquillity of India, until we shall have effected the entire subjection of the Sikh people, and destroyed its power as an independent nation." Accordingly he took on his own shoulders the responsibility of converting the Panjab into a British province. The Court of Directors and the Government of England afterwards fully upheld him in this decision. On March 29, 1849, it was announced in open durbar to the Sikh sirdars there assembled. Sir Henry Lawrence, the Resident, was present, and Mr. Elliot, the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, was deputed by the Governor-General to read the powerful proclamation which he had himself prepared decreeing the deposition of the youthful Maharaja and the annexation of the country. The celebrated Koh-i-nur, then belonging to the Maharaja, was presented to the Queen of England, an outward sign of a great national triumph. The Maharaja himself was placed under careful tutelage, and subsequently resided in England. The conquest and annexation of the Panjab have been approved by foreign nations, and we append an extract from a French author rather than one from an English statesman: "the people of the Five Rivers live and die under the English Administration more peaceably than they have done for many generations."

Lord Dalhousie resolved to make the Panjab a model province. He resolved also that it should be rendered a safe and strong barrier on the North-West frontier. He took care, therefore, to select some of the best and bravest men whom he could find to administer its affairs. It was to be what was then known as a "non-regulation province," and the routine and dilatoriness of the older and more settled provinces of India were to be avoided. The governing body was composed of a Board of three members; but the Governor-General himself took good care that his own ideas, policy, and will, should be supreme. The Board consisted

of Sir Henry Lawrence, his brother Mr. John Lawrence, and Mr. Manuel, who was afterwards succeeded by Mr. Robert Montgomery. Lord Dalhousie was fully aware of the differences of opinion which existed between the two brothers; but, knowing the high esteem in which they were both held by the Sikh people, he was anxious to utilize their good qualities, and to employ them both for the public welfare. The work of the Board was divided among the members. The very important matters connected with political affairs were entrusted to Sir Henry Lawrence himself; the departments of revenue and finance were allotted to Mr. John Lawrence; and the supervision of every thing concerned with the administration of justice was given to Mr. Manuel. A picked body of men was selected to carry on the work of the province, twenty-nine of them being military officers and twenty-seven civilians. The latter were principally taken direct from the North-West Provinces, then under the rule of that prince of civilians, Mr. James Thomason. Great care was taken to secure strong and adequate defences on the frontier, and to ensure a thoroughly efficient system of police. The method of dealing with the Sikh aristocracy, who held their jaghirs on the terms of military service from Ranjit Sing, was strong and masterful. The carrying it into practice frequently brought Sir Henry Lawrence into direct conflict with Lord Dalhousie; but the latter was firm and unwavering in carrying out his own policy. These chiefs had almost to a man, fought against the British power during the recent wars, and were scarcely fit objects of too great clemency, so the Governor-General decided that they were entitled to nothing more than their lives and their subsistence. He was willing to follow this policy as gently as was consistent with the perfect peacefulness and safety of the province; but no further. Mr. John Lawrence, as he afterwards wrote to the Governor-General, was able to report that "the arrangements regarding the jaghirs have given much satisfaction, and have exceeded all expectation. A Sikh Sirdar remarked to me that they had got more than Ranjit Sing ever would have given them, and that, too, free of all service."

When the new Board had begun its work, Lord Dalhousie joined Lady Dalhousie at Simla, which had not then become the regular hot weather resort of the staff of the Government of India. It was, however, situated within the Panjab, and it was consequently a convenient spot from which to supervise the arrangements for the pacification and government of the freshly acquired province. During the cold weather of 1849-50, Lord Dalhousie made a tour through the Panjab, and thus beheld with his own eyes the way in which his policy was working out. He saw that the people were settling down peaceably under the new regime; he inspected the roads and canals which were being projected or begun; and he beheld the new forts rising on the frontier line. Things went on pretty smoothly in outward appearance for more than three years; but there had been during that time, sad to relate, a sharp conflict of opinion between the two brothers Lawrence, who were the ruling spirits in the Panjab. Lord Dalhousie had wisely used their very diverse good qualities for the public benefit; but, at the end of the year 1852, he considered it advisable to place the now tranquil province under only one head, and that head was Mr. Lawrence, who afterwards became Lord Lawrence, the famous Viceroy of India. Sir Henry Lawrence was made Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, and, in January, 1853, sorrowfully turned his back on Lahore. His too sensitive nature made him feel deeply hurt that his brother was preferred to himself; but the private letter in which Lord Dalhousie acquainted him with the decision seems to us most kindly and tenderly expressed. "You stand far too high," the Governor-General wrote, "to render it necessary that I should bear testimony to the value which has been set upon your labours and upon your service as the head of the Administration of the Panjab by the Government over which I have had the honour to preside. We do not regard it as in any degree disparaging to you that we, nevertheless, do not consider it expedient to commit the sole executive charge of the administration of a kingdom to any other than to a thoroughly trained and experienced civil officer." Hence-

forward the Panjab was under a Chief Commissioner, who was afterwards dignified by the title of Lieutenant-Governor, with a Revenue and a Judicial Commissioner under him, and a staff of able assistants. It must never be forgotten, however, that the Panjab was Lord Dalhousie's favourite province and that, whatever was the ability, displayed by those serving therein, he was the supreme ruler, and made his genius, his influence, and his will constantly felt. The Panjab having thus been conquered, pacified, and settled, we must go on to consider the state of affairs in other parts of India and neighbouring states.

We turn to an entirely opposite quarter to the Panjab. Since the Treaty of Yandabu which ended the Burmese war in 1826 during Lord Amherst's administration, the King of Burma had been guilty of permitting various indignities to be practised on the English Resident at Ava and on the English merchants at Rangoon. The Resident had been removed for Ava to Rangoon, and, at last, he was withdrawn from the country altogether. In September, 1851, a formal complaint from the merchants at Rangoon was laid before the Governor-General, stating that neither life nor property was safe there, and that they would be obliged to leave the country altogether unless they obtained redress. In reply to this Lord Dalhousie made a demand for a small amount of compensation, for the removal of the Governor of Rangoon, and for the reception of an English agent either at Ava or Rangoon. Commodore Lambert with three ships of war was sent to Rangoon, and the Governor treated with marked contempt certain naval officers who were sent to negotiate with him. It was evident that war was intended both by the king and by the Burmese, and Lord Dalhousie, most reluctantly, was obliged to accept it. With characteristic energy he was determined to make the whole campaign as effectual as possible, and he himself drew up the plan of it. War was declared on February 12, 1852, and was vigorously prosecuted. General Godwin was placed in command of the army, which was chiefly drawn from the Madras Presidency, but Sikhs were employed for the first time in the service of England away

from their own province. Sir Edwin Arnold declares that nothing could be "more masterly in grasp, more prescient, or more practical" than the plan which Lord Dalhousie had drawn up for General Godwin's guidance; and Mr. Marshman declared that "such a display of superb energy had not been witnessed in India," since the days of the great Marquis Wellesley. On two points he persistently insisted. Remembering the sad losses in the former war owing to disease, he was careful to ensure good sanitary arrangements and a proper supply of food and medicines. He was equally strong on the necessity of annexing whatever territory might be taken. "With a nation so ridiculously but mischievously self-conceited and arrogant," he wrote, "nothing would make any impression except retaining every inch that had been conquered."

Early in April a compact little army, supported by ships of war, arrived off the mouths of the Irawadi, which flows through Burma. Martaban was quickly taken, and then an attack was made, on April 14, on the strongly fortified pagoda-citadel of Rangoon. Some of the king of Ava's own body-guard, "the Immortals of the Golden Country," bravely defended it for a time; but the steady rush of the storming party carried all before it, and the citadel and town of Rangoon fell into the hands of the besiegers. The war was then carried into the interior. Lord Dalhousie raised his original terms, and informed the king that "the Burmese forces will be defeated wherever they stand, and the British army will reach the capital." The Governor-General was fully supported from England. The Court of Directors sanctioned the annexation of Pegu, which they regarded as a choice of evils rather than an unmixed good. "It may be doubted," they said, "whether the relations even now established between you and that people have not already imposed upon you the obligation of protecting them." The Governor-General was, however, very averse to proceeding as far as the capital, feeling that what was conquered ought to be maintained. "To march to Ava," he wrote, "will give no peace unless the army remain at Ava; in other words, unless we absorb the whole Burmese

Empire. That necessity may come some day," he added, with a clear prevision of future events; "I sincerely hope it will not come in my day." Anxious to see things with his own eyes, he left Calcutta for a brief visit to Rangoon in the early days of August, returning speedily to the capital to hasten on reinforcements. In October Prome was taken; and, on December 14, an expedition was led by General Godwin to relieve Pegu, which had been courageously held by Major, afterwards Sir William, Hill, with four hundred men against overwhelming numbers, which formed the most striking and memorable incident in the war. Less than a week afterwards, by a Proclamation dated December 20, 1852, the province of Pegu was annexed to the British dominions. No treaty was entered into with the king of Ava. "In compensation for the past," the terms of this Proclamation ran, "and for better security in the future, the Governor-General in Council proclaims the province of Pegu a portion of the British territories in the East. Having exacted the reparation he deems sufficient, he desires no further conquest in Burma; and is willing to consent that hostilities should cease." Pegu has since been governed by English officers: Captain, afterward Sir Arthur, Phayre, was the first Commissioner, and a band of officers under him gradually succeeded in bringing it, as a non-regulation province like the Panjab, into a peaceful and contented British province. The work, however, differed considerably from the Panjab in that there was no native aristocracy to deal with or national army to subdue.

We have now done with the military policy of Lord Dalhousie's administration, and are pleased to turn from wars and rumours of wars to more peaceful matters. The first subject which we are called upon to consider is his policy with regard to the annexation of certain Native States and the consolidation of the British Empire in India, for this had a very great influence on the future history of India. The various Native States, both Hindu and Muhammadan, may be divided into two classes—the sovereign and the dependent states. The policy with regard to both

of these classes which Lord Dalhousie inherited and which he himself held very clearly, was different. With regard to the states governed by Hindu Sovereigns the doctrine of adoption, which was enjoined by their religion; had to be very carefully considered. The first state to which it had to be applied, owing to the death of the Raja, was Satara, a small principality in the south of the Bombay Presidency. This was a dependent state, the Raja of which had been deposed for misconduct in the year 1839, and his brother placed on the throne in his stead by the Supreme Government. The Raja died in 1848 without children, but he had, previous to his decease, adopted a son without the consent of the Government. This brought up the question whether his adopted son should be permitted to succeed to his dominions. There was no doubt as to his right to inherit his adoptive father's private and family property. The policy of the Court of Directors, which had recently been pursued by the Governors-General, was that such adopted children should not succeed, though certain exceptions had been made in special cases. The Court had declared so recently as 1834 that such an "indulgence should be the exception, not the rule, and should never be granted but as a special mark of favour and approbation." The law on this subject is clearly stated by a competent legal authority. "When the Hindu is a prince," wrote Sir Charles Jackson, a former judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, "holding his principality subordinate to a paramount state, it is a condition of succession that the adoption be made with the consent of the paramount state. His private property will pass to the adopted son, whether the paramount state has or has not consented to the adoption; but, in the absence of such consent, the principality reverts to the paramount State."

There is another, and a most important point which, in such cases, had to be considered, and that is, what is best for the people of the state. In this point we think it fair to Lord Dalhousie's memory, and right for the proper understanding of the case, to quote his own words. "No man," he wrote in a state paper prepared in the earlier

part of his administration, "can deprecate more than I do any extension of the frontiers of our territory which can be avoided, or which may not become indispensably necessary for consideration of our own safety, and of the tranquillity of our own provinces. But I cannot conceive it possible for any one to dispute the policy of taking advantage of every just opportunity which presents itself for consolidating the territories which already belong to us, by taking possession of states which may lapse in the midst of them; for thus getting rid of those petty intervening principalities which may be made a means of annoyance, but which can never be a source of strength; and for extending the uniform application of our system of Government to those whose best interests will be promoted thereby. The Government is bound, in duty as well as in policy, to act on every such occasion with the purest integrity and in the most scrupulous good faith." With reference to the case of the State of Satara, he wrote: "In my conscience I believe we should ensure to the population a perpetuity of that just and mild Government which they have lately enjoyed; but which they will hold by a poor and uncertain tenure indeed, if we resolve now to continue the Raj, and deliver it to a boy brought up in obscurity, selected for adoption almost by chance, and of whose character and qualities nothing was known by the Raja who adopted him, nothing whatever is known to us." The Court of Directors gave their sanction, and the principality of Satara was annexed.

With regard to the general question of the acquisition of states by lapse, we believe that Lord Dalhousie viewed it sincerely from his own position, as undoubtedly for the benefit of the people themselves; but it must also be considered from the stand-point of the inhabitants of India generally. They would thoroughly understand their own law of adoption. They would not understand the distinction between private and state property: nor would they consider the rights of the paramount authority in the state. The principle, as the Court of Directors themselves allowed, had not been uniformly acted upon. Public opinion, then represented in India by bazaar gossip, would not

comprehend why one Raja was permitted to adopt, and another was not. Nothing is more resented than seeming injustice, and it is certain that this feeling actuated the minds of the people of North India during the troublous days that came so soon after Lord Dalhousie's time. He acted most uprightly and conscientiously; but it was his misfortune that so many cases of this kind occurred during his rule, and it was well that, under the direct government of the Queen, his policy has happily been reversed. Although the circumstances of each case was different, the annexation of Satara was followed by that of Sambalporc, Jhansi, and virtually of Mysore. The honours of royalty were denied to the successors of the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Raja of Tanjore. The greatest annexation at this time, however, was that of the Maratha Kingdom of Nagpore. It had been for nearly a quarter of a century under the nominal government of a dissolute Raja, whose incapacity and ignorance were notorious, and who had not attempted to adopt a son, although he had left no heir. He died in 1853. The Resident, Mr. Mansel, who had come thither from Lahore, recommended that an heir should be made by giving one of his Rani's permission to adopt a son. The Governor-General firmly declined to approve of this course. "What guarantee," he wrote, "can the British Government find for itself, or offer to the people of Nagpore, that another successor will not imitate the bad example of the late Raja? And if that should be the case, what justification could the Government of India hereafter plead for having neglected to exercise the power it possessed to avert from the people of Nagpore so probable and so grievous an evil?" "I conscientiously declare," he added, "that, unless I believed that the prosperity and happiness of its inhabitants would be promoted by their being placed under British rule, no other advantages which could arise out of the measure would move me to propose it." No doubt, it was urged, the maintenance of the Kingdom of Nagpore would be acceptable to the sovereigns and nobles of India, and many high in authority, including the Resident himself, advocated that course on this ground; but Lord Dalhousie could not consider

that "a kind and generous sentiment should outweigh a just and prudent policy." The Kingdom of Nagpore was, therefore, annexed to the British dominions with the hearty assent of the Court of Directors, and it now forms the greater part of the present territory known by the name of the Central Provinces.

Another measure which had a potent influence on the history of the great Sepoy Mutiny must not be omitted. In the year 1818 when Baji Row, Peshwa of the Mahrattas, was conquered in the great Mahratta War, a pension for life amounting to eight lakhs of rupees a year was granted to him, which the Governor-General of that time considered too liberal an allowance. Baji Row died in 1851, and an application was made to Lord Dalhousie for the continuance of this allowance to his adopted son, Nana Dandhu Panth, commonly known as Nana Sahib. The Governor-General declined to sanction this, because it had been carefully given as a personal annuity, though he permitted Nana Sahib to inherit all the extensive private property which his adoptive father had left. This refusal rankled in his mind, and induced him to side with the rebels in the Mutiny, and to commit the atrocious cruelties which stain his memory.

Most important negotiations were also carried on with the Nizam of Hyderabad. This sovereign had, at the beginning of the century, entered into an agreement with the Indian Government to pay a yearly-subsidy for the maintenance of an army, called the Contingent Force. The finances of the Nizam had been for many years in a most unsatisfactory condition, and the state was heavily involved in debt. Attention had, from time to time, been drawn to this state of things; and, at last, in 1853, Lord Dalhousie insisted on the matter being brought to a conclusion. A fresh treaty was entered into with the Nizam, by which the province of Berar was transferred to the direct Government of the British, on the understanding that any surplus revenue should be paid to the Nizam. "By this treaty," Sir Charles Aitchison said, "the Nizam, while retaining the full use of the subsidiary force and contingent,

was released from the unlimited obligation of service in time of war, and the contingent ceased to be part of the Nizam's army, and became an auxiliary force kept by the British Government for the Nizam's use." The financial strain on the Nizam's Government was thus removed, and the Assigned Districts of Berar have in every way improved and flourished.

While the attention of the Governor-General was continually directed to the consolidation of the Indian Empire, he was not less careful to consider its material and intellectual progress. The great engineering projects of his time received his warmest approval, and they still bear the impress of his master-mind. Foremost among these was the system of communication by railway. This was his own creation. The experience he had gained while at the head of the Board of Trade in England was of immense service to him in this respect. His idea was to attract private enterprise by European capitalists, who would be safeguarded by Government guarantee. The first railway was begun in the year 1850, and three years later he wrote a careful and exhaustive minute on the whole of this great subject. Other Governors-General have since helped to develop the railway system; but the conception of the method in which it has been carried out was due entirely to him. Alongside of this system was that of the construction of the telegraph. A new department had to be created for this purpose, and the story of the manner in which it was carried out, so as to triumph over physical and other difficulties wholly unknown to the experience of engineers in Europe, is one of the most interesting episodes in the history of science. India is now so closely bound to England by the "lightning-tappal," that we can scarcely realize the enormous difficulties under which this union was begun. Intimately allied to these advantages is the introduction of the postal system which India owes to Lord Dalhousie. He adopted the English plan of a low rate of postage throughout the Indian Empire, irrespective of distance, which has since been extended and improved. A postage stamp of half an anna carried a letter weighing less

than half a tola from Tinnevely to Peshawar. This did away with the old system of higher charges even for limited distances. These three great changes India owes to Lord Dalhousie; but she owes to him greater benefits than these.

The Department of Public Works was reconstructed during his administration. He gave his full and cordial sanction to the grand irrigation schemes by which the people of South India were benefited, and many districts were preserved from the terrible disaster of famine, such as the anicuts across the Cauvery, the Godavery, and the Kistna. During his administration a good foundation was laid for the great system of national education which is now bearing such abundant fruits, and which, according to the way the people of India apply it, is destined to issue in the greatest good or the saddest evil. We cannot truthfully say that Lord Dalhousie was the creator of this system, but it was begun in his time, and he helped to foster and mature it. The Educational Charter of India, however, was the despatch on the subject prepared in 1854 by Lord Northbrook with the sanction of Sir Charles Wood, afterwards Lord Halifax, then President of the Board of Control. The whole system has grown to dimensions hardly foreseen by its authors or the Governor-General, who helped, with all the mighty power of his influence, to promote it. We conclude this brief description of the material and intellectual progress of India under Lord Dalhousie with the mention of the rapid increase in the commerce of the country during that period. We quote the following passage from Sir William Wilson Hunter's *Marquess of Dalhousie*, which shows the result in few words: "During his eight years of rule the export of raw cotton more than doubled itself, from one and a half million pounds to close on three millions and one-third. The export of grain multiplied by more than three-fold from £890,000 in 1848 to £2,900,000 in 1856. Not only was the export of the old staples enormously increased, but new articles of commerce poured into the markets, under the influence of improved internal communications and open ports. The total exports of merchandise rose from 13½ millions sterling in 1848 to over 23 millions in 1856. The

vast increase of productive industry, represented by these figures, enabled the Indian population to purchase the manufactures of England on an unprecedented scale. The imports of cotton goods and twist into India rose from three millions sterling in 1848 to 6½ millions in 1856. The total imports of merchandise and treasure increased during the eight years from 10½ to 25¼ millions."

The industry of Lord Dalhousie was equal to his genius for organization and command. He understood the art of taking infinite pains. He carefully went into the details of important matters, and the mere manual labour of writing his despatches was enormous. His own peculiar share in the business of the state was the Foreign Department, and his industry in this was so great that he really left very little for his able Foreign Secretary, Sir Henry Elliot, to do. That eminent civilian "used to say with a pleasant smile that he spent most of his time as Foreign Secretary in pursuing his own historical studies." Heavy as it was Lord Dalhousie thoroughly liked his work. "To those around him," wrote Dr. Grant, who, for the greater part of his stay in India was his personal medical attendant, "he seemed enamoured of his task. Even in that hot and depressing climate, the intellectual exertion, which he liked, brought relief rather than lassitude, for business seemed not only easy, but delightful to him. He went with heart and soul into details, and to the driest subjects he gave vitality." This incessant strain and toil told very heavily on his health. He frequently travelled about the country. Sometimes he spent the hot weather at Simla or at some neighbouring resort in the mountains or at Ootacamund on the Neilgherry Hills. His medical attendant often warned him that change to a European climate was imperatively necessary; but the Court of Directors pressed him to remain at the helm of the government where his practised hand was felt to be so needful. He acceded to their request and exceeded the usual time for which a Governor-General was appointed by two years, and then, as the annexation of Oude was approaching, he felt it his duty to remain another year, even against the solemn warning of his doctor, so as to see it

carried into effect. His own words must be given, for they show the character of the man. "Believing it to be my duty to remain in India during this year," he wrote to Dr. Grant, "in fulfilment of my pledge, and trusting in the Providence of God to avert from me those indirect risks against which you have so clearly and faithfully warned me, I have resolved to remain."

A far greater grief and pressure, however, than declining health weighed on his heart. In his early days he was cheered and comforted by the companionship of Lady Dalhousie. At first she accompanied him on his tours, and graced his hospitable board; but her health could not stand the enervating climate. In 1852 she tried a change to Ceylon; but, early in the following year, it was considered necessary for her to return to England by the sea-route round the Cape of Good Hope. It was hoped that the invigorating sea-air would restore her health, and she herself was looking forward to reunion with their two daughters, from whom, like innumerable English parents resident in India, they had been obliged to be separated. She died, however, on the homeward voyage, on May 6, 1853, almost within sight of the shores of England. This was indeed a sore bereavement. He was terribly stricken, and he sought ever more and harder work to occupy his mind, and keep it from dwelling on his loss. Many touching letters of condolence reached him, one being from our gracious, and tender-hearted Queen, who is ever the first to feel for and with her people. But the letter which went most directly to his heart was one from his elder daughter, Lady Susan Ramsay. It taught him, in his own words, that he had "still something left to love." In January, 1855, Lady Susan came out to live with him, and to enlighten his desolated home. "The sunshine of that fair young presence," Captain Trotter beautifully says, "played softly about his troubled spirit, lighting up the darkness it might not wholly dispel." Though this solace did much to cheer him, he was, during the remainder of his stay in India, quite a broken-hearted man. We must bear this in mind while we consider the story of the close of his lengthened administration. "He

suppressed," to use the language of another observer, Sir Richard Temple, "as much as possible, any manifestation of his distress or suffering; and the public was scarcely aware that his strength and life were gradually but surely ebbing away."

There are still some subjects to which reference must be made before we hasten to the close of his eventful rule. The question of the East India Company's Charter, which had to be renewed every thirty years, was considered in 1853. It was renewed; but very important changes were made in it. One of these was throwing open the Civil Service of India, which had hitherto been recruited by the nominees of the Directors, to competition. The Governor-General of India had up to that time been the immediate Governor of the province of Bengal. In his absence the senior member of his Council had governed it in his stead. This imposed a very severe strain upon the Governor-General for the time being, and now that several new provinces had been added to the Empire, over which also Lord Dalhousie exercised direct control, this strain had been very considerably increased. Bengal was now placed under a Lieutenant-Governor of its own. Another great change, which has since been more widely developed, was the creation of a Legislative Council for India. It consisted of thirteen members, four of whom represented Bengal, Madras, the North-West Provinces, and Bombay; and all legislative matters that had hitherto been managed by the Governor-General's Executive Council were transferred to it for consideration. The new Council met for the first time in May, 1854; Lord Dalhousie himself presiding. Such were some of the changes which were at this time adopted, and which were slowly and imperceptibly preparing the way for the greater changes made during the years that elapsed since the country was placed under the direct government of the Crown. The two wars in the North-West and South-East of the Empire, the numerous annexations, which were made by Lord Dalhousie in all good faith, the consolidation of the Government of the Empire, the rapid increase of its material resources, and the commencement of a system

of national education, all contributed to effect the change of policy which created the India of to-day. But the country had first to pass through a fiery trial and test that had a greater influence over it than any thing else.

The Court of Directors were very anxious that one whom they so thoroughly trusted as Lord Dalhousie should remain at the head of the Indian Government until the question of the future of Oude should be settled. Though weak and ailing, Lord Dalhousie considered it his duty to stay, even though, as we have already seen, his health, as the time drew near, became alarmingly feeble. The kingdom of Oude had, as we have stated in the lives of previous Governors-General, been, from the very first, a thorn in the side of British India. It was the worst governed of the dependent states. When a treaty was entered into in 1801 with the Nawab of that time, it was expressly provided that the Nawab Vizier engaged to "establish such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants." Lord Wellesley himself anticipated failure. "I am satisfied," he wrote at the time, "that no effectual security can be provided against the ruin of the province of Oude, until the exclusive management of the Government of that country shall be transferred to the Company," for he found that the inveterate abuses which pervaded every department of Government destroyed the foundations of public prosperity and individual happiness.

In Lord Dalhousie's time a Nawab was reigning there, who, if possible, exceeded his predecessors in profligacy, inability, and sloth. The state of Oude had become a perfect scandal. In 1847 Lord Hardinge gave him a plain and grave warning that this state things could not be permitted to continue, and that, if it still was allowed, the British Government would be forced to interfere by assuming the Government of Oude. He himself went to Lucknow to remonstrate with the Nawab, and fixed two years as the limit of the time of forbearance. This date past by, and Lord Dalhousie, his successor, was very loath

to carry the threat into effect. Colonel Sleeman, the Resident, whose sympathies were well known to be in favour of the preservation of Hindu and Muhammadan states, took a tour through the kingdom with the express purpose of ascertaining the exact condition of the people, and he reported that the state of things was so bad that the Indian Government was bound to intervene. "He did not think," were the words he used, "that, with a due regard to its own character as the paramount power in India, and to the particular obligations by which it was bound to by solemn treaties to the suffering people of this distracted country, the Government could any longer forbear to take over the Administration." General Outram, who was appointed Resident in 1854, and who was equally in favour of independent states, gave a similar account. "It is distressing to me," he wrote, "to find that in upholding the sovereign power of this effete and incapable dynasty, we do it at the cost of five millions of people, for whom we are bound to secure good government." Lord Dalhousie was still reluctant to carry out such a measure as annexation in all its entirety. In his quiet retreat at Ootacamund, he wrote an able minute reviewing the past history and the present condition of Oude, and recommending that, while the British should assume the entire administration of the country, the sovereignty of it should still be retained by the Nawab. The Court of Directors, however, decided for annexation; and supported by the Board of Control and the English ministry, gave the necessary order for it to be carried into effect.

By his proclamation of February 13, 1856, Lord Dalhousie, by one of his last public acts declared that, Oude had been placed directly under the English Government. In doing this he solemnly stated that "the British Government would be guilty in the sight of God and man, if it were any longer to aid in sustaining by its countenance an administration fraught with suffering to millions." As Lord Dalhousie specially provided that his private papers were not to be published till fifty years after his decease, we are unable to give so many details regarding his own personal views of public

events as we have been able to do in the case of many of his predecessors ; but we have, with regard to the annexation of Oude, the privilege of a solitary peep into his private diary, which we give as any indication of the reverential and devout state of his heart. "With this feeling on my mind," he wrote, referring to the above quoted extract, "and in humble reliance on the blessing of the Almighty (for millions of His creatures will draw freedom and happiness from the change), I approach the execution of this duty, gravely and not without solicitude, but calmly and altogether without doubt." Lord Dalhousie has been accused of entertaining the lust of annexation, and the strongest attack has been made upon him for the absorption of Oude. This is, however, manifestly unjust. The case of Oude was quite distinct from every one of the other instances of annexation. He was himself distinctly opposed to it ; he carried it into effect in obedience to a plain duty imposed on him by higher authority ; and he chivalrously offered to bear the blame, which he foresaw would be brought on him, rather than leave it for a new Governor-General, whoever it might be, to face in the first days of his rule in India.

He was too ill to remain in the country. In fact, he was unable to walk except with the aid of crutches. "It was well," he said to his physician on February 26, "that there are only twenty-nine days in this month. I could not have held out two days more." On the 28th, he met his colleagues in the Council Chamber for the last time. The senior member of Council truthfully stated that not one angry word had ever past among them in that room. On the 29th Lord Canning arrived, and the ceremony we have frequently described again took place. He was welcomed at the head of the broad stairs leading to Government House where Lord Dalhousie, leaning on his sticks, received him, surrounded by his colleagues. While Lord Canning was taking the oaths of office, John Lawrence, who had come from Lahore to bid farewell to his old chief whispered to him and asked him how he felt at that trying moment. "I wish I were in Canning's place, and he in mine," he replied with something of his ancient ardour ; "And then, would I not

govern India." Then checking himself, he pathetically added, "But no, I could not wish my worst enemy to be the poor, miserable, broken-down, dying man I am now." On March 6, this noble-hearted man left Calcutta. "The crowd that came to see him off was deeply and genuinely affected. "The attempted cheers of those that saw him totter on his crutches towards the river-side, faded away into a silence more eloquent than the loudest hurrahs." He was borne to Suez by the *Feroze*, a ship-of-war of the old Indian navy. On the voyage, crippled and enfeebled as he was, and obliged to write the greater part of it in pencil, while lying on his back, he prepared the celebrated and admirable paper, which described the chief events and measures of his administration. The exertion of writing this paper completed prostrated him, and he had to be carried on shore at Suez by the crew of one of the steamer's boats. The journey across Egypt through Cairo and Alexandria still further fatigued him, and he was obliged to remain ten days at Malta to recruit his strength before completing his voyage to England, where he landed on May 13, 1856. A day or two after his arrival he was cheered by receiving a kind letter of welcome from his sovereign. In his reply he said that "Such gracious words from a sovereign to a subject create emotions of gratitude too strong and deep to find fitting expression in other than the simplest words. He thanked Her Majesty from his inmost heart for the touching and cheering welcome home, which he feels to be the crowning honour of his life." Sir Theodore Martin says that these expressions "were but the climax of many, which had told Lord Dalhousie, during his viceroyalty, of his sovereign's approval." Evidently it was the custom of all the Governors-General during her reign to communicate direct with the Queen concerning the prominent events of their rule, though their despatches to her have not been made public, as we have seen that they were in the case of Lord Ellenborough.

The few remaining years of Lord Dalhousie's life formed one prolonged conflict with disease. He was sometimes better, sometimes worse ; but there was no real improve-

ment. He divided his time between London, Edinburgh, his own ancestral castle, and Malvern, a health resort in the west of England. For some months during the winter of 1857-58, he stayed at Malta in the Mediterranean for the sake of its warmer climate. He was accompanied to England from Calcutta by his medical attendant, Dr. Grant; and he felt Dr. Grant's departure for India very keenly. He had been drawn very closely to him on account of all the careful and delicate attention the doctor had bestowed on Lady Dalhousie and himself; and we must quote just one sentence from a farewell letter he wrote to him, to show the affectionate gratitude of one who has been accused of being callous and cold. "I shall long feel strange," he wrote, "in the absence of the kind and sedulous daily care which I have been long accustomed to receive from you. I thank you a thousand times for it all, my gratitude for your never-flagging attention to myself and to that dear suffering companion whom I lost will remain in my memory as long as I have memory left." Dr. Grant and he frequently wrote to each other during those last years, and his letters contain several touching allusions.

Illness prevented Lord Dalhousie from joining in political affairs. He felt deeply the news of the Indian Mutiny, and seemed sometimes to chafe that he could do nothing to allay the fierceness of the storm. Popular opinion in England accused him as either the author of events that led to the outbreak, or because he had not foreseen it and provided against it. Keenly feeling the injustice of these accusation, and we believe that they were essentially unjust, he suffered them to pass by without reply. He was in no fit state to enter into controversy. His acts must defend themselves. The news, however, had a bad effect on his health. "I can think of nothing else but this outbreak," he wrote on one occasion. "Of course," he said at another time, "there are plenty who inculcate me, and, although it is very hard to be incapacitated from defence when one believes oneself without blame, I believe that I care less for the blame and for the defencelessness than for the misfortunes which lead men to blame, and render defence of

my administration necessary. In the meantime, the rest of mind which I feel to be essential to my progress towards recovery is gone." At length, in the summer and autumn of 1860, he grew decidedly worse. Alarming symptoms were observed by his physicians; and, after a brief visit to London, he returned to his own native home to die. He was constantly attended by his daughter, Lady Susan, and his cousin, General Ramsay, who did all that lay in their power to alleviate his suffering and to cheer his spirits. The latter bore witness to his unfailing patience and submission. "All the time I have been with him," he said, "I have never heard him complain once." He fell asleep on December 19, 1860, being only in his forty-ninth year, fairly worn out by the stress of his Indian toil.

The Marquis of Dalhousie was essentially a great man. He was a born ruler of men. He understood the characters of those with whom he had to deal, and knew how to use them in the services which they were most competent to render. He thoroughly knew his own mind, and went straight to the heart of the subject which he had to decide. There was, perhaps, nothing that more clearly showed the consummate tact which characterized him than the way in which he treated the Court of Directors, whom he faithfully recognized as the body immediately set over him. "It almost seemed," writes Captain Trotter, "as if they had originated the very measures which their Governor-General was commending most earnestly to their approval." He knew how to select his agents carefully and judiciously, and he expected them loyally to carry his directions into effect, just as much as he endeavoured, as in the case of the annexation of Oude, to execute decisions with which he could not altogether agree. He was very careful, however, to control his own rather imperious temper. He never administered a rebuke by word of mouth; but made a point of writing it, so that all the sting of it might be extracted. His rebuke was dreaded just as much as praise from his lips was prized. People in general thought him cold, haughty, and reserved; but those who knew him intimately loved and admired him heartily. The very exercise of self-control made his manner

such as would be misunderstood; but he was, under his polished and aristocratic demeanour, one of the most sensitive of men. He had a true sense of justice and right, especially when any of the people of the country, over whom he was ruling, were wronged or oppressed. "I can recall instances," wrote Sir Charles Jackson, "of Lord Dalhousie's indignation when acts of oppression and torture had attracted his notice in the public prints, and of his readiness to protect the native population from the recurrence of those acts." Kingly, however, as he was in his bearing, and eagerly desirous to shelter the oppressed from wrong, we are aware that he was not popular among Hindus and Muhammadans.

We have already described the diligence with which Lord Dalhousie performed his work. The way in which he economized time for it seems marvellous. He rose about six, and occupied himself, when at Calcutta, by reading official and other papers for some three hours. He would sit down to his work by half-past nine, and then work continuously for eight hours. He then released himself entirely from official business during the remainder of the evening. He did not like official parties, durbars, and entertainments. He was simple in his tastes and quiet in his manners; and yet his bearing was such that even such a man as Sir James Outram declared that he never left his presence without feeling his inferiority. We believe that he was a good Christian man. He thoughtfully read the sacred Scriptures every morning and evening, and we are sure that in this practice he, as so many thousands of Englishmen in India, found comfort, strength, and guidance. He was regular in his attendance at divine service, and the spirit of reverence that actuated him can be gathered from some of the extracts from his official papers and correspondence which we have already given. We add one more, which seems to us to contain the very essence and kernel of the art of Christian government. It is stated by Sir W. W. Hunter on the personal authority of Sir Charles Bernard, and is a merely a brief office-note. "I circulate these papers," he wrote hastily on one case,

in which he had successfully insisted on justice being done at the risk of a tumult. "They are an instance of the principle that we should do what is right without fear of consequences. To fear God and to have no other fear is a maxim of religion, but the truth of it, and the wisdom of it are proved day by day in politics." We thus conclude the life of one of the noblest rulers India has ever had. He literally laid down his life for India. He laid the foundation of the India of to-day, broad, self-contained, compact; and we feel persuaded that his memory would never have been assailed even for a moment, had not the great tempest which had such a marvellous effect on the future of this country arisen so soon after his departure. This, however, may truthfully be said, very much of her present prosperity is due to the prevision of James Ramsay, Marquis of Dalhousie. .

CONCLUSION.

We have now given a brief sketch of the lives of the first twelve Governors-General of India. We have tried to present a picture of each as the individual man rather than as the Governor; and, as far as possible, to see the various events of the history of India from his point of view. This series will appropriately end with Lord Dalhousie. He was the last who was only Governor-General. All his successors have been Viceroys as well as Governors-General; and the time of their rule is so recent, and so many of them are happily still alive, that we think it advisable to close the series here. A clearly defined era in the history of the country, ends with the last days of the Marquis of Dalhousie.

It will be seen that England has given to India some of her very best men. Mostly drawn from the ranks of her nobility, they worthily maintained the finest traditions of their order, the dignity and honour of their country, and the good of those over whom they were called upon to rule. Though by no means equal in ability, in power, or in the capacity of governing, they were all of one heart and one

mind in their sincere desire to uphold justice, to maintain truth, and to defend the right. This country owes them a debt of gratitude.

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